THE BLACK PANTHER

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Black Community News Service

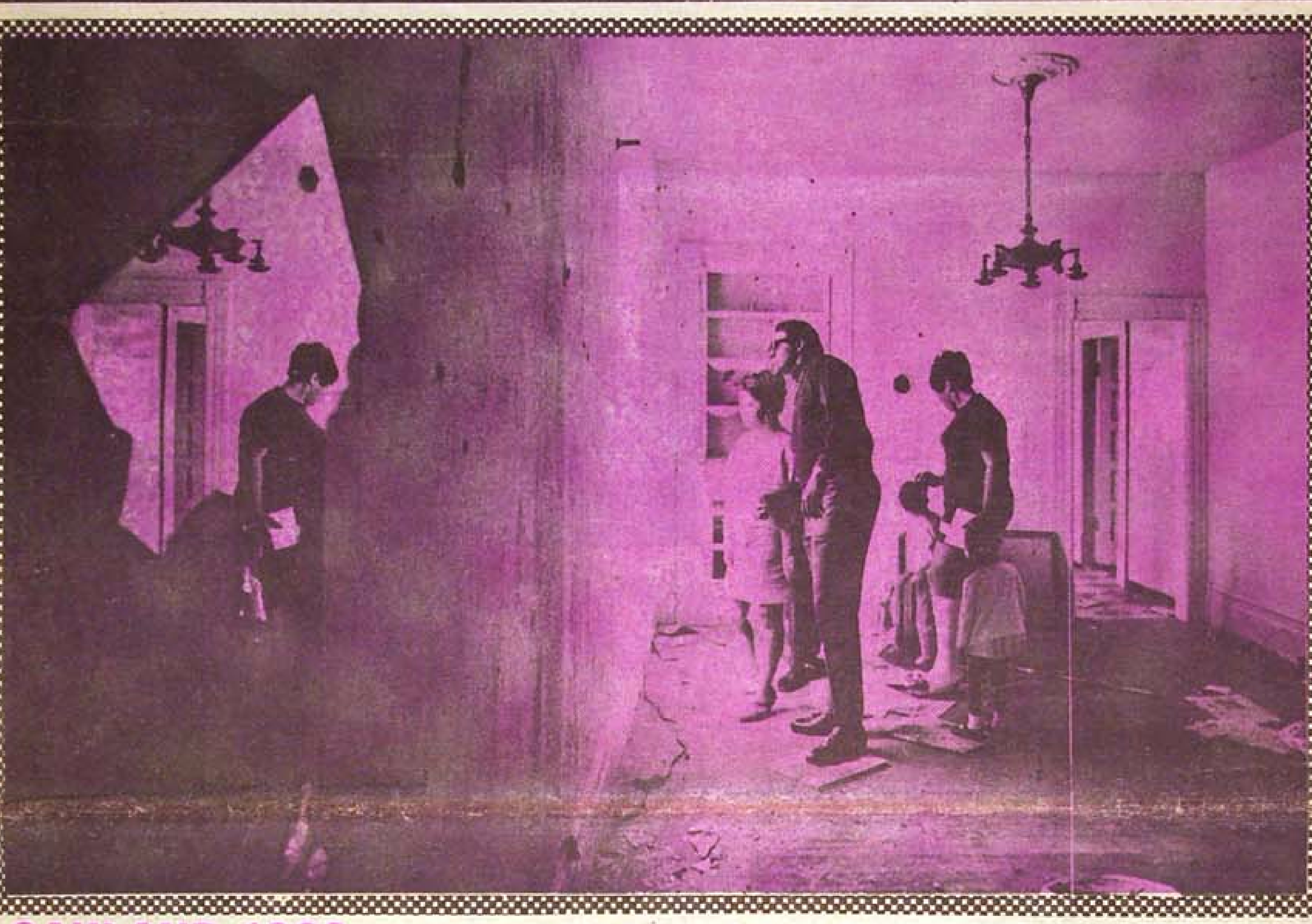
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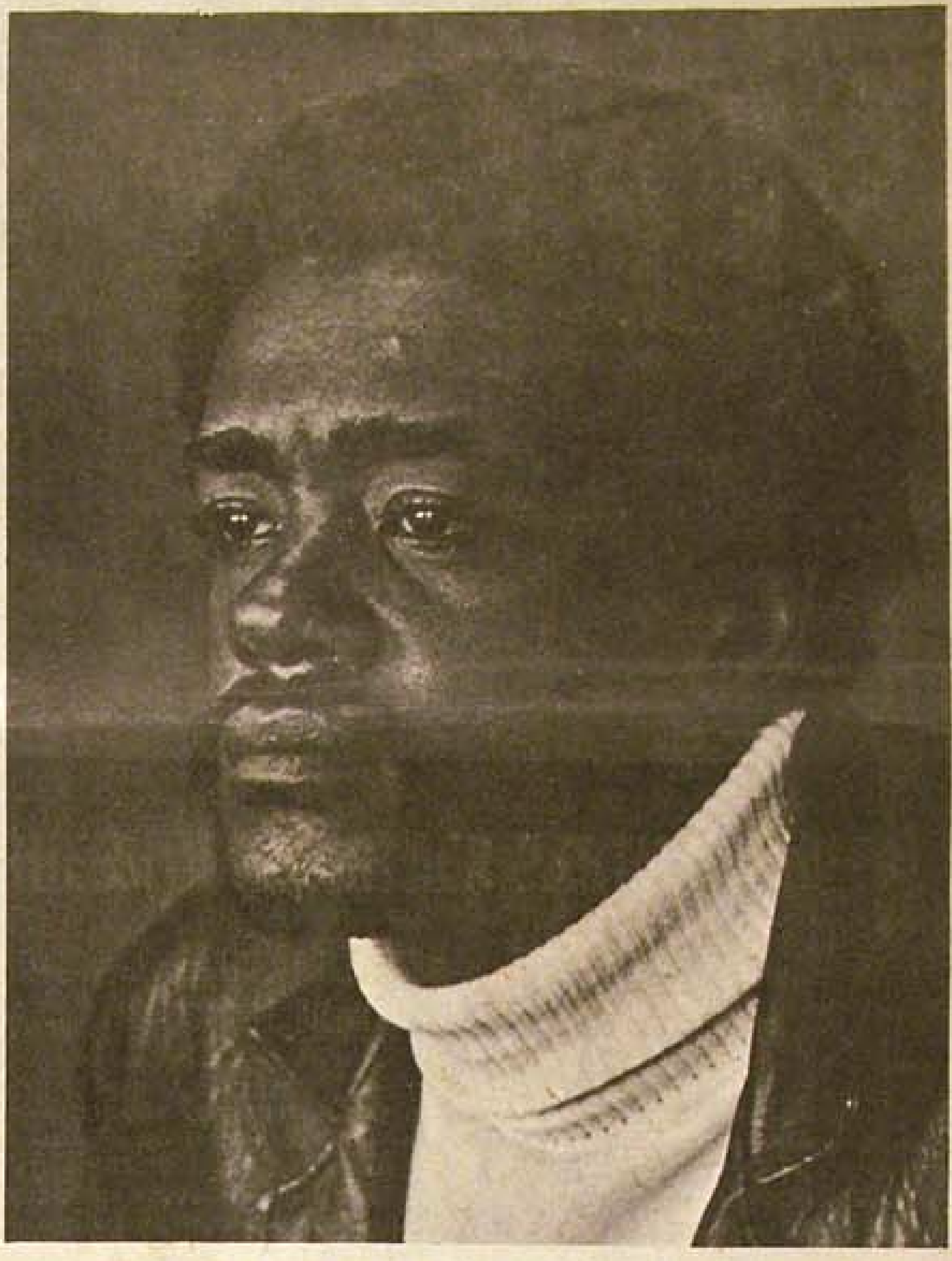


OAKLAND 1968 **FASCISM** **CHICAGO 1969**



CHAIRMAM BOBBY WRITES

FROM A KANGAROO COURT



BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN, BLACK PANTHER PARTY

TO: Black Panther Party members and all the people, especially Black people in the Black community

Today is October 2, 1969, and I'm writing this letter to the people in the courtroom of the United States District Federal Court, Northern District of Illinois. It's presided by a blatant racist judge named Julius H. Hoffman.

If only the people could see this most rotten form of so-called "justice" being practiced here, they would automatically realize that the United States' "Fascist", and I'll repeat FASCIST government is out to railroad me and the other defendants who are organizers against the war and other acts of aggression against poor, oppressed peoples in America.

I don't ever remember seeing such a thing where the judge will not allow the lawyers for the defense to maintain cross-examination of the pig prosecutor's lying witnesses. One who is not fully aware of the way they (the courts' judges and the D.A.s of the U.S. government) try to cover up their rotten operation of persecuting the defendants and their lawyers, won't be able to get too much of a clear view of how this crap called "justice" is used to try to put us, the defendants, in prison for 10 years.

There is another trumped up charge against me in Connecticut where there's a slick C.I.A. and/or F.B.I. operation (in conjunction with some Black racist who works with the government) to try there to railroad me to the electric chair. They have a "Black racist" named George Sams who is lying out of corner of his pig agent mouth when he slickly alleges that I was suppose to have given some orders to have someone killed. I have never seen this Alex Rackley, period. People who let themselves be used as pigs, lying on the Black Panther Party, are nothing but pork chops themselves.

Stokely Carmichael (Eldridge has run down since I've been busted) even says that this George Sams, who he (Stokely) brought into the Party, is an agent for the power structure. Only, Stokely says that he couldn't get in touch from Africa, or wherever he was, to let us know.

Well, I was in touch with him when I was in Europe. I was there straightening out what Stokely had wrongly put out. I spoke at speaking engagements, explaining what Stokely Carmichael had previously (2 months or so) stated inferring that the Party was Black racist. I spoke on the phone with Stokely. He was in Paris at the same time and I in Stockholm, Sweden. Stokely could have told me then that this George Sams had been found out by him to be an agent. But we were arguing a bit about his Black racist line, which the Party opposes thoroughly.

I was informed a few days later in Finland, in the city of Helsinki 3 or 4 hundred miles from Stockholm, Sweden, that I had been charged and/or indicted with this so-called "conspiracy to riot". Some agent reporter (this is the way I saw him) came up to me on the stage after I had finished speaking to an audience of about 1500. And this reporter said, "Bobby Seale, did you know when you get back to the States that you face 10 years in prison and a $20,000 fine?" I said, "I wouldn't be surprised, after I talked to Europeans about the Nixon administration's Black Capitalist program spreading more Black racism and being a trick to fool Black people and other people around the world." The reporter said, "Well, you have been charged with conspiracy to incite a riot by crossing state lines. Do you remember when you went to the Democratic Convention in Chicago?"

I told the reporter that it's just Nixon's operation to stop the Black Panther Party from telling the truth to the people here and at home about how racist and fascist America is becoming toward Black people and other poor, oppressed, laboring people in America." I said, "You know this tour of these four Scandanavian countries (Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland) by myself and Ray 'Masai' Hewitt has enlightened many thousands, with the coverage by the press here, about the rotten decadence of the government of America. It's enlightened them about our struggle being a class struggle and not a race struggle...."

The reporter was not interested. He showed me an AP or UPI (I can't remember exactly) report that seemed to be geared to trying to lie to everyone about myself and the Party, saying that I "conspired to incite a riot."

"What is your reaction," he asked again. I said, "Look. You know what's happening. The government is trying to stop the Black Panther Party because we're exposing the racist, fascist system of America for what is is. Black capitalism is no good. We need to build a socialistic system in America; and that's the only way Black people are going to survive, when power is taken by the people, and stop the fascist machine. The Democratic Convention was a blatant fascist attack upon people who want a change in America. Black people have suffered from brutality and murder for hundreds of years up to now. And now there is the Black Panther Party showing the people and teaching correct methods to resist the pig power structure...." I went on and on. The reporter, I could see, was not interested in reporting exactly what I said. So, I told him, "Later."

I had never met with any of the other defendants before the Convention nor had I ever talked to any of them at all. But it still didn't surprise me that I was charged with this so-called "conspiracy (one has to have at least conversed with said or accused "conspirators") to incite a riot."

Why? Well, everyone knows why, especially when I've been forced to sit here without "legal defense council of my choice who is effective," Charles R. Garry. I guess everyone knows that I've protested this racist action by fascist Judge Julius H. Hoffman.

People, he (the judge) is really taking orders from the top, Tricky Dick Nixon himself. Oh, it's not said; but everyone knows the C.I.A. and F.B.I., with all their other lacky pig agents, are plotting ninety miles an hour in doing everything they can to see to it that Black Panther Party members are railroaded into prison or killed--or rather murdered, etc. They don't really make a secret of it by their past actions, attacking and raiding Party offices, etc., and making numerous arrests. In L.A., the pigs have made over 250 arrests in the last few months of a special group of Party members. When we put out thousands of dollars of donated money from the people to bail them out, then charges are dropped. It's an operation to intimidate and at the same time deplete funds of the Party.

This kangaroo court here has a judge, a D.A., an Assistant D.A., and an F.B.I. agent (supposedly "to run films," they say) with another young pig sitting at their table. They are going through motions of trying to say this is "justice".

No, not the case. And I wish the people of America, and Black people in particular, could see it. Maybe you know already. Anyway, let's get together and see it from the point of view that THE PEOPLE HAVE NO POWER, NOT IN THIS COURT OR ANY COURT IN AMERICA. It's bullshit, people, Black brothers and sisters, old and young, etc. I'll have to give a blow by blow account of this bullshit here in this kangaroo fascist operation with Schultz's racism from the government's District Attorney. (He's an assistant to Foran, who I've found out to be a righteous flunkey for Daley)

They had to send the jive letters to taint the jury against me.

Next week, court is recessed until Tuesday.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Free Huey, Ericka, Bursey,
Free All Political Prisoners
Seize the Time

BOBBY SEALE

(MORE TO COME)



PRESS RELEASE FROM CHIEF OF STAFF

Panther Attorney, Jerry Lefcourt, informed us that the pigs are trying to get a new grand jury indictment against the New York 21, and that it appears to be so underhanded that two DA's have threatened to resign.

The pig power structure is moving to get "law and order", political leverage for November elections.

DAVID HILLIARD, CHIEF OF STAFF
BLACK PANTHER PARTY



OCTOBER 1969



OCTOBER 1969

Statement From Chief Of Staff:

ATTACK ON CHICAGO OFFICE

The tidal wave of repression and murder of the Black Panther Party can at best be considered war and systematic genocide. The new "Reichstag" (headquarters for German pigs) in Chicago, Illinois, has taken the forefront in fascist repression. What the Falange (fascist organization) of Chicago did to the people at the Democratic convention was the green light for political persecution of any organization or individual that exercises their rights to assembly, free speech and redress of their grievances (rights guaranteed to citizens under article I of the Bill of Rights signed and declared in force December 15, 1791). After the pigs showed the most brazen fascist tactics that the people of the oppressor white mother country had ever been victims of, we are assured that the key to securing our future is "Resistance" to death, and to educate by example (correct methods for resisting). The only way to put an end to the murder and railroading through the fascist court systems - like our Chairman Bobby Seale is being railroaded in Chicago - is to organize a barricade of opposition manifested in calling together the brown, red, yellow and white oppressed people and waging a struggle to control the guns that are supposed to protect our lives, not take it away. In plain proletarian (worker) language, CONTROL THE POLICE IN OUR COMMUNITIES.

The attack on our Oakland, California, office last year in September set a precedent (first time) in teaching the rest of the fascist pigs nationally, the correct methods for destroying the people's workers (the Black Panther Party). So when you recognize what's happening to members of the Black Panther Party as being criminal and unconstitutional, with nothing happening to those murdering pigs, then you can clearly understand that someone in power must be giving the orders. I am not just talking about the puppet mayors, police chiefs, etc., although they are the first level of fascist repression, I am talking about the top leaders of the Government that they represent.

Let's compare our situation with the unjust and genocidal war in Viet Nam. Starting with the release and sending home of the nine professional killers of the US Green Berets (elite murder incorporated corps) who murder in cold-blood the civilian Vietnamese that they called a spy. These same tactics were used against our Party in May 1969 when the pigs of Connecticut killed Alex Rackley, who was also referred to as a "spy" within the Party's ranks. This is supposed to justify the diabolical crimes against the Black Panther Party in particular and Black people in general here in Babylon. The same men, Warden Richard Nixon and the Attorney General Mitchell (who gave freedom to murdering Green Berets) endorse the crimes committed by the pigs in the Black community who carry the same type weapons that their counterparts carry in Viet Nam. They still call that war a Police Action, although we realize that it is a war of mass genocide that hits in the heart of the Black community here in Fascist America. Inquire about the attack plans on our National Headquarters in Berkeley and you will see what I mean by war against the Black Panther Party.

In essence, what I am trying to say is, actions such as the "search and destroy mission" that was carried out on October 4, 1969, against our Chicago office at 2350 West Madison; when the pigs attacked, beat and hauled off to jail 5 Party members and some people from the community, will continue and be escalated unless we move to circulate, as soon as possible, the petition for Community Control (decentralization) of the police.

The people's patience is not endless. The time comes when there remains only two choices --"Submit" or "Fight" and the courageous Panthers of Chicago will continue to fight fascist aggression against the Black Community.

David Hilliard
Chief of Staff
Black Panther Party



CHICAGO JULY 1969



OCTOBER 1969





CHICAGO JULY 1969

CHICAGO JULY 1969

PIG TRICKS AGAINST CHICAGO DEFENDANTS

It is quite clear that I have made attempt after attempt to get my constitutional right to have legal council of my choice who is effective" namely Charles R. Garry, recognized and granted by Judge Julius Hoffman. The government prosecuting me knows that my rights are being violated. This trial could easily be reversed in a higher court, and would show the government and the court railroading me in its continued attempt to destroy the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party has continually exposed the U.S. Government, State Governments, and local governments all over this country for their racist and fascist oppression of Black people and others. We have been murdered by cops and F.B.I. agents and our offices raided, we have over 60 political prisoners in the country with myself being one of the latest. I write this because there is a plot by the F.B.I and/or other lacky foolish pig agents to tamper with the jury in this so-called "conspiracy to riot" trial and then try to slickly blame it on the Black Panther Party hoping to fool the masses of the people with their press. This is the most low-lifed, racist and fascist attack upon the other 7 defendants and myself in particular.

I have listened to the other defendants inform me of this and am not shocked at all at this attempt by some pig F B I or C.I A. agents for the government, to discredit the defense so as to allow the D A. and judge Hoffman to railroad us in court.

It seems that two jurors who I myself observed and felt to be open-minded and objective, have received phony threatening notices of some kind supposedly signed by "The Black Panthers". When threatening notes and/or letters are sent to our many offices around the country, they are addressed to "The Black Panthers" and not "The Black Panther Party". We in the Black Panther Party who are dedicated to the human rights and freedom of our people and other poor, oppressed peoples and the laboring masses do not threat or attempt to threat. We would never send such notes especially because every Party member follows the same rules of our Party and does not engage in such wrong, backward acts. We can only see the fascist government doing this, because they know that rotten, racist Hoffman has made them look bad by not granting me my constitutional rights.

POWER TO ALL THE PEOPLE
GOVERNMENT OF, BY AND FOR THE PEOPLE
Bobby Seale
Chairman
Black Panther Party



QUIET FASCISM BEHIND CLOSED DOORS

It isn't enough that Panthers are shot down on the streets snatched from their homes, or incarcerated while they sleep; the ruling class oppressors carry on their 'fascism' quietly in the court rooms, behind closed doors. All Black people who come to the federal building to see about Chairman Bobby, are searched, insulted, and turned away. No young Black people are allowed to reach the courtroom!!! QUIET FASCISM.

The fascist pigs wouldn't even let the Chairman go use the bathroom. He isn't allowed to have law books to read, or have the opportunity to speak in his own behalf in court, or hold a press conference, or see anyone other than his immediate family even though he hasn't been convicted of any crime. QUIET FASCISM

The 'hanging judge' who sits back quietly in his chair denying all defense motions; the US attorney and his side kick who spend most of their time insulting and harassing the defense attorneys; the pigs and bureaucrat-capitalists who come to lie on the defendants are all tools of quiet fascism.

Those crude court pigs have even managed to send a threatening note to two of the jurors' families signed--the Black Panthers. We all know that no one signs letters--the Black Panthers--no one but those 'meglo-maniacs', minutemen, psychopaths, and lunatics. But the hanging judge, used this as an excuse to intimidate the two jurors and subsequently to dismiss one. The two jurors in the eyes of the Chairman seemed to be fair, impartial, and open-minded. The juror that was dismissed was the youngest juror on the panel. QUIET FASCISM.

When 75 to 100 lawyers came to Chicago to protest the incarceration of two of the pre-trial defense attorneys, Chief Judge of the Circuit court, William J. 'Jobaqaukee' Campbell had them locked out of the building. They were never able to present their petition to have the hanging judge, Julius 'Adolph Eichmann' Hoffman disqualified for his improper and unconstitutional conduct. Now the hanging judge sits quietly on the bench, wallowing in his pool of 'pagan pink' ripple.

The defense attorneys, Lenard Wienglass and William Kunstler, have been straight-jacketed by the hanging judge's handling of the case. In spite of the fact that 70 of the 300 prospective jurors disqualified themselves because the indictments were read to indicate criminal liability on the part of the defendants; in spite of the fact that some jurors said that Hoffman's presentation of the indictments was "very dramatic", "that it doesn't seem that they will get a fair trial...and he seemed to be swaying the jurors..." The hanging judge is allowed to sit on the bench harassing the defendants and persecuting the attorneys.

The 'Anti-riot' act in itself is unconstitutional. It subverts the First Amendment guarantee of free assembly by equating organized political dissent with organized violence and premeditated riot. The federal government is leading the assault on the organized political freedom movement and the Black Panther Party. It is the leader of the thrust to move Babylon up into a police state.

The Chairman has been charged with inter-state travel to 'incite to riot'. It is a well known fact that the Black Panther Party is a well-disciplined organization, and a revolutionary, politically educated body that doesn't endorse spontaneity or tolerate the irrational acts of anarchism. And as the vanguard organization, we understand that real change comes through revolution fought with guns, guts, revolutionary theory and social practice and not the infantile actions of the anarchists.

The federally commissioned Walker report put half of the blame in its right perspective, the Chicago pig department. But the real criminals are Mayor Daley, his bureaucrat lackies and the hatchet men in Washington. It wasn't just a police riot, it was a government conspiracy to destroy legal right to assembly and freedom of speech.

And in order to put in the minds of the public that the Party is a gang of criminals, the pig department ambushed our office a third time and charged that someone fired from the roof. The drunk pigs then shot the lock off the door of the office and arrested seven people (six Panthers) who were getting the Panther Paper out and handling records. Like the trial, we see this as an organized move to wipe out the Party in order that they may then freely move to wipe out the people.

All this is consistent with the government policy throughout the trial, a rigged jury system, a demagogic hanging judge, a lying US attorney, and a gagged news media--what the government calls a 'fair and impartial trial'.

The Party will not allow 'quiet fascism' to destroy our Party and our leaders. We will oppose the attempt to slow down the revolutionary process with our United Front. Fascism is not fail-safe, we and the people will move like a mighty storm to crush the rising tide of fascism and replace it with an International Proletarian Revolution.

SEIZE THE TIME
OPPOSE FASCISM WITH THE UNITED FRONT
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS
Angry Illinois Chapter
Black Panther Party

ILLINOIS OFFICE AMBUSHED NO. 3

Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again,... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic...Chairman Mao.

The maniac mechanical monsters came down on the office of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party in Chicago a third time. They used the excuse that someone was sniping at them from the roof of the building to illegally enter the office and destroy equipment and medical supplies. But there was no one on the roof except two pigs who were planning the subsequent attack to ambush the office.

Those hoodwinking hooligans lied to the press and radio when they said that we sniped at them. The windows in the office were shut and the doors were closed. We didn't snipe at those drunk 'megamaniacs', they not only fired in the office, but the stupid pigs shot at the people who were trying to prevent them from destroying the office and murdering the Panthers inside.

The people can clearly see that the pigs, Daley's and Nixon's hatchet men, are trying to stop the flow of information from the Party to the masses. It is clear to the masses that the pigs are trying to destroy the Party and its leaders and supporting rank and file.

This fascist state of America and all its pig agencies are moving on the Party to keep the people from learning the Party's revolutionary line which will help them free themselves from this decadent, rotten, greedy, system of piracy. And these drunk lackies of 'ripplehead' Richard Nixon and 'bitterdog' Daley are the front troops which will try to stop the people and the Party.

The masked bandits illegally arrested six Panthers without warrants, and then beat our Deputy Minister of Education, and Terry Watson, possessors of dangerous knowledge against the pig system. The pigs then snatched several of the masses off the streets who had protested against the pigs for their unconstitutional actions.

We withstood the attacks of the pig oppressor a third time. And in the face of constant pig oppressor violence, we--and the masses with us--must choose the way of revolutionary violence, a violence that punishes that pig oppressor for his crimes, and once it has crushed them, gives way to socialist humanism and proletarian democracy (people's revolutionary power).

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
SEIZE THE TIME
OFF THE PIG
Illinois Chapter
Black Panther Party



PHONY JURY TAMPERING

We accuse the U.S. government of tampering with two jurors as part of the continuing frame-up of the Conspiracy 8.

The phony letters from "The Black Panthers" are part of the government's endless propaganda against the Party and its supporters. No one uses the phrase "The Black Panthers" to address or sign notes - except those who send hate letters to Panther headquarters. We do not tamper with the people, we trust them, -- even in a rigged jury system.

The two jurors in point both appeared open, honest and impartial to all the defendants. One is only 23 years old, and was questioned extensively and critically by Judge Hoffman. We are convinced the government was planning to challenge and remove the two jurors but was visibly surprised when we accepted the jury before using all our challenges.

All this is consistent with government policy throughout the case: Charles Garry is sick, two lawyers under contempt citation, two arrested, two brought here under warrant, our staff excluded from our tables. After rigging the jury selection, the government now is still dissatisfied and intends to further tighten its grip on all parts of the case.

The whole world is watching Chicago again, and demanding that this trial stop.

Tom Hayden

A CASE FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL



RACIST NEIGHBOR USES ANIMAL TRAPS AND GUNFIRE TO KEEP BLACK KIDS IN PLACE



DUANE SANDERS WAS THE VICTIM OF A TRIGGER HAPPY RACIST, BUT PIGS REFUSED TO ACT.

Duane Sanders a 10 year old was shot while playing in his yard; by an insane racist who sets animal traps at an opening in the fence that separates his property from the apartment building Duane lives in. This pervert throws iron pipe, bricks and anything else that could kill or maime, the kids.

Mrs. Sanders, mother of Duane and five other children, lives in East Oakland. She told the Black Panther Party that she called the pigs, they came out and said that there wasn't anything they could do - they didn't have enough evidence - after asking her how old she is, dig it. After finding some evidence through self-investigation, in the form of shell casings she again called the pigs. The sister received the same response - not enough evidence.

This is a strong case for community control of the pigs. Serve the people or get out of the community.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
SEIZE THE TIME

More Next Week



MRS.SANDERS VISITS AT CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL.

MOTHER AND CHILDREN BURN TO DEATH

Due to unknown reasons a three-story building at 314 E. 47th St. Chicago, Illinois, caught fire. The 70-year old dilapidated building began to burn furiously and the occupants inside ran for the exits and escaped. All the occupants except for a black mother and three of her seven children.

The fire pigs arrived and instead of dealing with the fire, they began to mill around and watch the fire and the crowd that was developing. The mother came to the window of her apartment and screamed for help. None of the 'Fire-Pigs' moved!!! She called for the fire pigs to get a net and catch her daughter. She was ignored except for the cries of the crowd who screamed for the fire pigs to do something besides stand and spectate. The fire pigs had more than enough equipment to save the mother and her three children, but like the 'racist dog cop', they are only interested in saving property and not human lives. Those mechanical pigs refused to even go up into the building to see if anyone was trapped inside until the fire was put out. This is legal 'genocide'. And we all know this isn't the first time that it has happened. The people who were saved from the fire, saved themselves. The 'fire-pigs' murdered that family. The avaricious businessman who owned the dilapidated building is an accessory to the crime. The Black Panther Party says that "We want decent housing fit for the shelter of human beings."

Only by uniting behind the Party and practicing what the Party practices, can the people put an end to these fascist acts and the neglect of our people. Only through revolution can the people destroy those that destroy us. It is time that the people rise up to oppose the oppressive forces here in Babylon. Death to the fire pigs that murdered that family. And death to the racist dog cop that stood around and watched.

SEIZE THE TIME
OFF THE PIG
Ill. Chapter
Black Panther Party

Chicago:

WE STILL SERVE FREE BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN

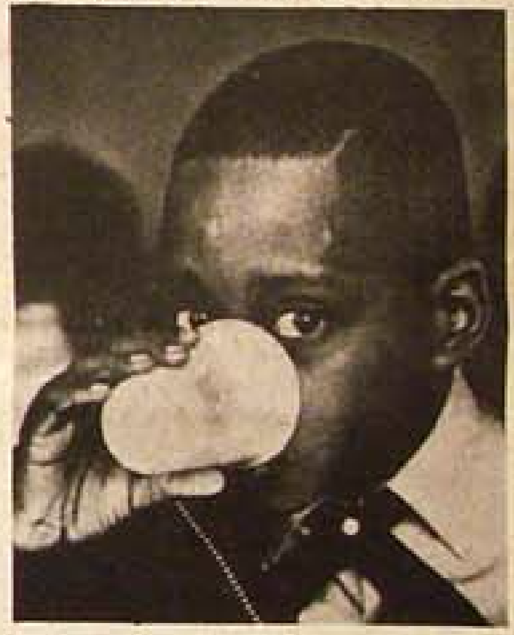


The demagogic bourgeoisie press recently carried an article which stated that the Black Panther Party in the City of Chicago was no longer feeding hungry school children. The article also stated that the Party was using the Breakfast money and food for their own personal use. This is totally incorrect, the Black Panther Party refuses to accept the ideology of the capitalist pig power structure which starves 70% of its population and uses food funds to send their astro-pigs to the moon for the purpose of "heightening exploitation."

The people and the Black Panther Party say there's something terribly wrong when Daley's Stockyard pigs have nothing more to do than sit in front of our breakfast centers and spy on and intimidate the hungry school children, who attend our centers by the hundreds each morning.

Not only do the Breakfast Centers provide free breakfasts but they also serve as a place where children receive revolutionary culture, education and also immediate first aid treatment. We believe anything the people want and need can be gained through revolutionary struggle and until the people realize this we will continue to lighten the oppressive load that this pig power structure has placed on the people.

So the Black Panther Party's Breakfast for Children Program will continue in oppressed communities as long as the masses find it necessary. And we say to the pigs who wallow in the pig pen cars in front of the Break-



fast Centers, our offices and cribs, Beware! The beat of the people is much too fast, so go back home where you belong. Watch out pigs, it's a people's thing!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Black Panther Party
Chicago, Illinois
Sister Beverlina

Panthers And Young Lords Serve The People

New York (LNS)--The federal government, the government of the state of New York, and Governor Rockefeller simply do not have the resources to meet the needs of the people, what with all the more important things that have to be done like sending three clowns to the moon and dumping bombs and napalm on the peasants of Vietnam, Ethiopia, Guatemala, and other countries around the world. So when this year's budget rolled round they were forced to make major cuts in the welfare clothing allowance. A grievous situation for all concerned, they assured us, but sadly unavoidable.

What made it so sad for the pigs was that quite a few of the welfare mothers weren't taking this sitting down. Instead they were taking it to the streets, pushing a school boycott that shut down several New York schools almost completely during the first weeks of the school year.

And what made it even sadder for the pigs was that there are some people around who understand that serving the people is their primary task and who make that their life's work--the Black Panther Party and the Young Lords Organization. So when it became clear that this racist government had no more intention of clothing children than it had of giving them a decent breakfast, the Panthers and Lords announced that they would do it.



HAPPY PEOPLE RECEIVED OVER THREE TONS OF CLOTHES--FREE

They moved on the businessmen who have been robbing from the community for years and put it to them that now the people were going to get something back. They collected over three tons of new and used clothes and let the community know that it would all be distributed for free.

More than 500 people were lined up outside Intermediate School 201 when the Panthers and Lords told them to come in and help themselves to the truckloads of clothing that covered long rows of tables. All the items were marked, telling what they were and what size. Panthers and Lords stood behind each table, ready to give help to any who needed it. And people who had spent months fighting to win some kind of help from this government began to understand in a new and real way how this pig government works not for the people but for their oppressors. Because there were the clothes they needed, and there were the Panthers and Lords who had gotten them for them, and there were pamphlets and papers explaining why the Panthers and Lords serve the people.

And the state was nowhere to be seen, except for a few pigs who kept a nervous eye on what was going down, afraid to vamp on the Panthers and Lords when the people could see what that was all about.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

THE GI STUDENT UNION

Viet Nam has been constantly exposed for the imperialistic power move that it is, yet 500,000 troops remain -- almost 100,000 of them Black.

President Tricky Dick Nixon will continue to fake with his left and hit with his right while forcing hungry Black mothers away from their children and into fascist sweat shops.

The war must end NOW. ALL troops home NOW. We must take our fight not only to the apathetic American Public but concentrate on communication and alliance with the GI's themselves.

GI's have not been allowed to gather to express their opinions of the very war that they have been kidnapped to fight in, so many of them don't realize how they are being played for fools by a handful of rich flabby oinkers who suck up tremendous profit from their various foreign investments (wars). This is why the Pentagon pigs have done everything possible to keep GI's from distributing newspapers, that tell the truth. As long as there are only a few GI's hip to what's really happening to them the military can continue to mess with their minds and their lives . . . once the word spreads, the military power structure is finished.

The job of the GI-Student Union is to help spread that word.

Students and civilians opposing the war have failed to establish effective communication with brothers in the service. We must unite with the GI's to make the people's strength felt deeply enough for a complete withdrawal of all troops from Viet Nam and all foreign soil. Andy Stapp of the ASU has been working at this for a couple of years and the military is afraid. The Fort Jackson 8 and the Presidio 27 cases have caught the Army with its pants down. NOW is the time to exert even greater pressure.

The soldier is above all a citizen. He is protected by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. But from the beginning of his tour of duty he is led to believe that "When you come into the service boy, you ain't got no rights." The military thinks that through their Nazi propaganda fear tactics; basic training and other acts of continual repression of fundamental human dignity that they can dehumanize the GI, cut off his emotional and intellectual processes. Thus they try to make him the docile sheep that the military needs to function at peak efficient fascist level.

The GI-Student Union will educate and advise servicemen of all guaranteed rights and of ways to protect them and assert them, whether through legal channels or legal protest. It will show the GI that he does have power but has purposely not been made aware of this by the military pigs. This will strengthen his confidence in vocally protesting mistreatment and will weaken the military's psychological stranglehold on him.

The plight of the Black and the Chicano in the service is a study in selective persecution. Racism. Many are offered as human sacrifices to satisfy the sadistic animal desires of bored and bitching pink cheeked racist piglets who oink and roll with delight to see a "filthy nigga spic git his." New inductees who score low in military testing are as a rule sent to the infantry. And in this way, because of the bulls--t schooling in ghettos and poverty stricken rural areas (relativity to needs, etc.) thousands of Black and Brown youngsters are set up to be slaughtered on the front lines in Viet Nam.

Furthermore, the military breeds fierce competition between Blacks and Chicanos and of course ignorant Whites against both. Commanding officers constantly inflate the balloon of suspicion creating even a wider gap in the GI's trust and understanding of his fellow GI's needs. This keeps the soldier out for himself, out to please his superiors and a slave. Of course the Pentagon pigs know well the technique of divide and enslave. Their industrial gangster partners have been using it on the civilian masses, in this country, for hundreds of years.

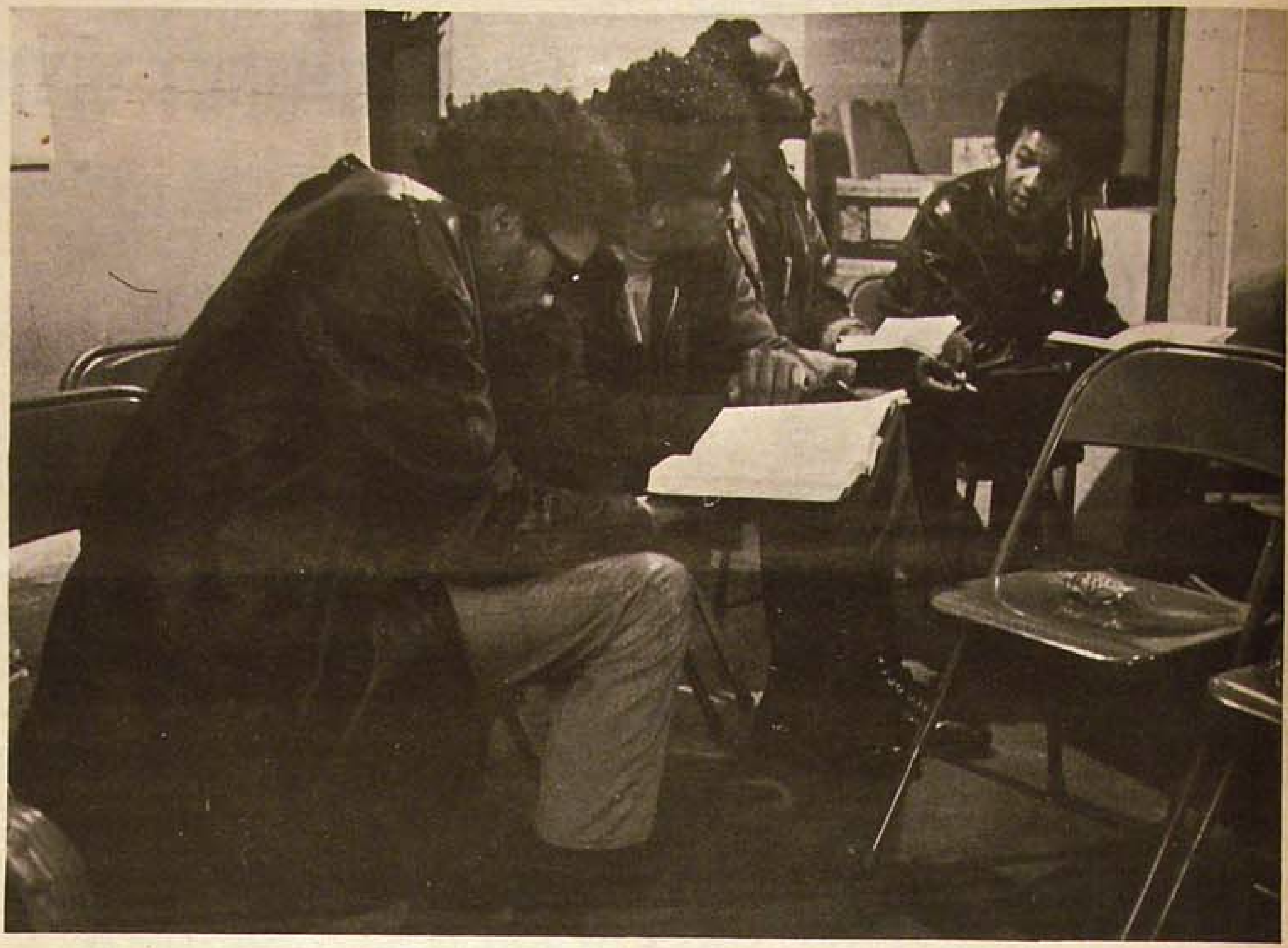
It all gets back to the need for communication between GI's, students, and civilians. The more the GI, who has been coerced into the "Armed Forces," is able to break out of his psychological isolation from civilians and civilians from him, the less the military will be able to exercise control over its men. The GI-Student Union is an organization that will not leave a soldier hanging on, afraid to commit himself to an expression of freedom because he thinks that nothing and nobody can stop the fascist pig machine. The People United can.

The GI-Student Union has five primary goals:

1. The reassertion of civilian control of the military.
2. Widespread awareness of the realities of military service.
3. Protection of constitutional rights of citizen-soldiers.
4. A continuous and reliable research agency.
5. The prevention of the sacrifice of students and youth in exploitative wars.

A mass gathering of GI's is being called for October 13 at Glide Memorial Church in San Francisco at 7:30 p.m. During this meeting plans will be formulated for legal opposition to the War and for participation in the November 15 March.

If you want to work with GI s, and work is the key word, (this ain't no limousine liberal bullsh -type organization), contact the GI-Student Union, 2214 Grove St., Berkeley, California, 94704, (415) 549-2172.



LANDON, D.C., FRED, AND DEXTER BEFORE CONNECTICUT FRAME-UP

OPEN LETTER FROM LANDON

To my comrades in the Black Panther Party, All Power to the People. Sitting in this cell watching America die is like watching the last days of Pompey. Everyday the cracks become more and more visible. There's nothing the pigs can do to stave off their final defeat. Like we've learned in P.E. class, all the attacks of reactionaries only hasten their inevitable doom.

Since Brother Rory and I were kidnapped and incarcerated we've been locked up in isolation to keep us away from other prisoners. The isolation block is a room with ten cells that each have concrete walls on 3 sides and a double set of bars in front. Cell No. 5 in isolation is the one they call "the hole." We cannot see the people in the cells next to us and are only allowed out twice a week to shower and shave. The only ones we ever get to see are the pigs who bring us our food. The pigs think that this will break us, but oh, how wrong they are. They've picked up a stone only to drop it on their feet - For here in isolation is where they send all their "trouble-makers"; and here in isolation is where Rory and I conduct P.E. The brothers, Chicanos and young Whites that the pigs send to isolation are very susceptible to revolutionary propaganda. They're mostly young people and there's no love lost between them and the pig. The pigs send them to isolation, put them on bread and water and usually keep them here for 4 days to a week and a half. During that time, Brother Rory and I expose them to the ideology of the Party. To young oppressed country radicals, we explain the difference between socialism and anarchy. The Chicano and Black brothers learn about the colony and this oppressive mother country. When they finally leave isolation most of them love the Party and understand what it's about. In the morning and at night isolation echoes with "All Power to the People". There's a Chicano brother about 3 cells over who can be heard all day shouting at the guards "You dirty, funky, pig". No. Isolation does not serve the pigs; instead it serves the people. We read to our fellow prisoners the articles we write for the paper and the letters that you send to us. The brothers can really dig it and when they go back to the buildings they carry the message of the Party with them. One brother down here couldn't stand anything that was White, but after a while he began to understand that it's a class instead of a race struggle. When the brother left he said he could dig it and understood who his oppressor was. Another brother thought you couldn't have democracy without capitalism. But Rory and I showed him that you couldn't have democracy with capitalism -- and that the people would only be free when they implemented socialism. To those who were afraid of socialism we pointed out that our people always have had socialistic ways -- sharing with and taking care of each other. To those who couldn't dig the gun we pointed out that it was the only way to obtain freedom; that singing, begging and praying hadn't gotten us our freedom and that the polls were closed to Black people here in America. As Huey says, "A people who are unarmed are either slaves, or subject to slavery at any time." And just the other day, Huey's "Prison, Where is Thy *Victory?" righteously turned* a brother on. Isolation cannot break us and nothing else the pigs have can. Wherever we are we'll carry out Party policy and Party life. We know Bursey and the other kidnapped Panthers are also on their jobs, and from the way things are happening, we know you Panthers are on yours. So Rory and I say fight on you beautiful Black Panthers, Blood to the Horses Brow. We'll be together on the day of victory, and final victory d--n sure belongs to the people. They may be able to jail revolutionaries, but they CANNOT jail the revolution.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN

Your comrade in arms,
Landon

LETTERS TO HUEY BOBBY & ELDRIDGE

All Power to the People

It adds a great deal to our spirit, our devotion and dedication to the Party in serving the people, when we're able to produce young revolutionaries and hold revolutionary conversations and exchange revolutionary ideas about what's going on in this decadent society. In doing so, in the Breakfast for Children Program, we , I mean, all Black Panther Party members everywhere are impressed by the letters, drawings, and poems that are written. The Black Panther chapter in Eugene offers these letters to the revolution from revolutionary students of the Black Panther Liberation School and Breakfast Program, and in doing so, we find that both Black and poor White students see the need for revolution and do so by expressing their love for Huey P. Newton, Chairman Bobby and Eldridge Cleaver and all other Party members in the letters that they write. We are touched by these letters, poems and drawings that we read. We have to keep doing it and doing it, feeding and teaching and working and doing it harder and each time, stepping it up to the next level and to the next level, after that, and then on and on further.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Free All Political Prisoners!
Eugene Chapter Liberation School Staff

Jill

I LOVE HUEY AND BOBBY AND ELDRIDGE.
I eat breakfast and lunch and I have free time. I talk about all you guys. I do lots of fun things at liberation school.
And I miss you guys.

Love, Jill
I love you very much

Tommy

To Chairman Bobby,

I love you Bobby. I learn a lot about you. I learn about the ten-ten. I learn about the racist pig. We went to the court house. I learn a lot about Huey P. Newton. I learn about the bootlicking-nigger. I learn about the field nigger. I hope you get out of jail. Right on. All power to the people

Lafay Wilson
Tommy (age 5)

Revolutionary Brother

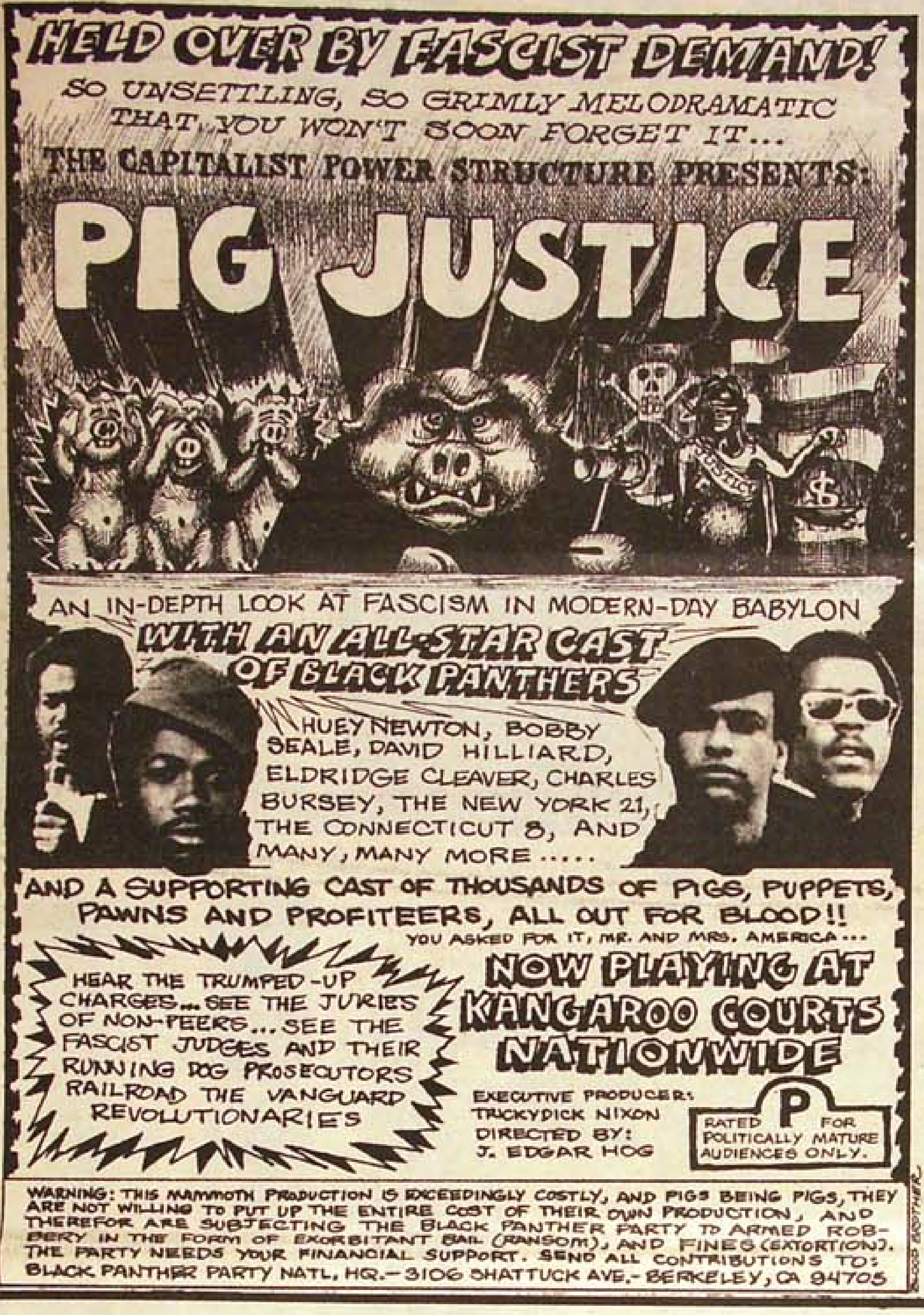
Hi Bobby!

When are you coming down? I am a revolutionary little brother. I'm in the breakfast program in Eugene. I like the breakfast program and liberation school here. How could you get down here so we can see you and talk with you? How are you doing? They showed us some pictures of you in school today. What are you doing now?
All Power to the People

Manuel

Hi Huey, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, and Black Panther Party, I love you. I had milk, oatmeal, and rolls at the Panther Breakfast and we had a class at the Liberation School. We also played with the ball and I washed my hands. I like this school and I am a revolutionary. All power to the people!

Love,
Manuel



VICTORY! TO OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD

This letter is specifically addressed to the oppressed people of Vietnam and generally to struggling liberation forces everywhere.

I read of the death of Brother Ho, in one of the reactionaries propaganda sheets (N.Y. Times). As usual they seized upon the less of a great leader as an opportunity to dupe the people. In life they portrayed him as a fanatic or old madman. In death they portray him as some sort of martyr.

Be informed that the people of racist America feel your loss. We realize that you have not lost a saint or a martyr but rather a dedicated leader of exploited humanity. We recognize Brother Ho as a fellow revolutionary. We recognize him as a part of the mighty storm that is at this moment descending upon the forces of imperialism. We will not be fooled by the sugar coated bullets which the pigs repeatedly oink in the faces of the people. Those of us who are at this moment political prisoners further recognize him as a fellow sufferer in the name of humanity. We will continue to go forth to topple the imperialist beast. We will accept Brother Ho's death as a further call to arms. We will continue in our efforts to educate the people of Babylon(racist America) to the decadence of this capitalist system which allows a few to exploit and brutalize the majority. We will have our liberation or Babylon will have ashes to sleep on. Let the Peoples' Army of Vietnam be assured that as Che said, "Whereever death may surprise us it will be welcomed, provided that this our battle cry reaches some receptive ear and that other fighting men reach out to intone our funeral dirge with the staccatto of machine gunfire and new cries of victory". Victory and solidarity in the International struggle for liberation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Afeni Shakur
Harlem Branch
Black PantherParty

Letter From John Sinclair

Power, Brother!

Since we met last in Ann Arbor I have been snatched up by the pigs and sentenced to 91/2-10 years in the State Prison of Southern Michigan at Jackson on the pretense of "possession of marijuana," i.e. two joints that the police made up in January, 1967. I was convicted by a "jury" of 8 so-called "kneegrows" and 4 "honkies" in Detroit and the racist Judge Robert J. Colombo hurried up and gave me all this time. But I welcomed the sentence because it only served to heighten the contradictions inherent in the pigs' decadent, racist, fascist system and educate the people even more to those contradictions. It was the most blatant move the local gestapo and puppet courts have made in their insipid battle against the people and the prople's revolutionary culture.

The examples of Fidel Castro (sentenced to 25 years in Cuba by Batista's regime but released after 3 years by the demands of the people), and of the heroic brother Huey P. Newton, both with incredible strength in the face of such oppression, have inspired me to accept this imprisonment and serve my time usefully. The White Panther Party can only grow stronger and stronger because of it (this experience) will give my people an obvious inspiration to continue and to increase their work in the community. As Brother Mao has said, it is good when we are attacked by the enemy because it shows that we are successful in our work. Dare to struggle. Dare to win!

Our Party was born in a Michigan jail when our Minister of Defense, Pun Plamondon was incarcerated last summer on a phony charge in Traverse City, Michigan, for 80 days under a $20,000 bond. While in jail, he read inspirational literature by Che Guevara and Brother Eldridge Cleaver. And when he came home, he and I were determined that it was time, and that it was our duty as White mother-country revolutionaries to respond to the call of Huey P. Newton, Chairman Bobby, and Eldridge and to form a White Panther Party to organize the revolutionaries in our communities, so that we could join with you, our brothers, in the liberation of this land. Rebellion in the colony, revolution in the mother country, in the words of Huey P. Newton.

I am in prison. Brother Pun will be directing our Party's work from our headquarters in Ann Arbor and he will be in constant touch with you.

All Power to the People!
Long Live the People's Revolutionary Culture!
Free Huey
Free All Political Prisoners

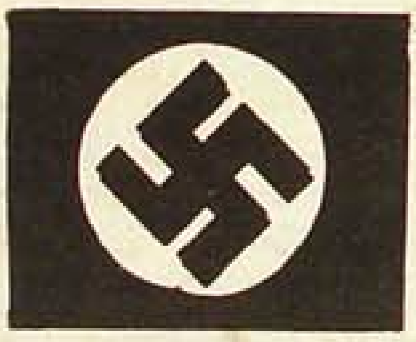
John Sinclair
Minister of Information,
White Panther Party

Edts. Note

The so-called "Committee of Ten" are not the real fascist in Amerikkkan society, they are only the unsophisticated, bastard off-springs of the real fascist pigs. The modern fascist has given up the swastika for the badge, the political title, the judicial robe, and the executive image.

The people are no longer fooled by the pigs in sharkskin and the people's justice is the final justice.

All Power to the People



HITLER WAS RIGHT!

Boston, Mass.
1 October 1969

Dear Motherfuckers,

I have just read your so called Newspaper The Black Panther, I have never seen so much Bullshit in one paper in my Life.

You may have noticed that we have no Riots in Boston, we no how to keep our Niggers in line up here. To be sure we do have a few niggers that are a little Uppity however they are so Stupid that it is easy to hold them down.

Now mind you we have nothing against niggers we beleive that every White Man should have at least one to keep his house clean and clean up his Shit after him, as they do in that wonderfull country of South Africa.

If you mess up around Boston it will be the start of the end for you'all, we will make you into Soap just like Hitler did to the Kikes.

We may have trouble getting rid of Black Soap but we can always sell to the Jews if the price is right they will Buy anything.

Your frends in Boston,

The Committee of Ten
For God and Country and a White Boston.

BOSTON JUSTICE

BOSTON (LNS) -- A young white honor student was found here Sept. 13 shot in the back of the head, with the words "nigger lover" carved into the skin of his back with a knife or other sharp instrument. The body of 19-year-old Gary Carotenuti, of Boston's Northeastern University, was found where it had been dumped on the steps of a predominantly Black Arts School in Roxbury, a Black Neighborhood.

The boy's father, Louis Carotenuti, said, "My son was a non-violent young man with a lot of love and a lot of friends. He never believed that anybody could be really violent."

ALL POWER TO THE SANYA LIBERATION LEAGUE

When the representatives of the Black Panther Party were in Tokyo, we had the opportunity to speak to members of the Sanya Liberation League. The following article is a brief report of our discussion with them. Hopefully, in the future we will be able to translate some of their materials from Japanese and present the ideas and history of their struggle to our readers first hand.

The people in this ghetto are all Japanese. They are there because most of them were second and third sons of peasant families. When their fathers died, the land was given to the first son which is the custom in Japan. And the only way the sons who did not inherit the land could make a living was by going to Tokyo to become workers in the factories, or in the offices. In the case of the people living in Sanya, most of them came to Tokyo, but could find no steady work so they had to resort to getting construction jobs and working on a day to day basis. Of course, because of the weather, (rain, etc.) they are unemployed most of the year.

The workers in Sanya face discrimination and social degradation in many ways as severe as the oppression that the Black people in the United States face. Black people are discriminated against supposedly on the basis of color, but we know that the slaves from Africa were not brought here because they were Black. They were brought here because the plantation owners were able to make huge profits off of the labor stolen from the slaves at the point of the whip. The people of Sanya are Japanese and they look like everybody else in Japan. When they go to work, though, they do wear special clothes and they do get dirty. They can't get on the subways that they themselves built without being scorned and snickered at by the other passengers. If they look for work in an area other than construction, they are discriminated against when they give their address. On top of all this, the Sanya workers are exploited twice as much as regular salaried workers. To get a job, they usually have to go to a job broker who loads them up on trucks very early in the morning and takes them to where the jobs are. (The workers line up along the street at about 6:30 a.m. where the buses come by and pick them up.) And, of course, the brokers take 10-15% of the workers checks. The average check is about 2,000-2,500 yen a day. ($6.00-$7.50 per day). Because of the social degradation and discrimination, it is very difficult for Sanya workers to find a wife. About 10% of the 12,000 workers in Sanya have wives or families with them. The rest are forced to live in loneliness. Usually, even their own families reject their sons once they've lived in Sanya--they see them as a disgrace to the family.



ROBERTA AND BIG MAN AT SANRIZUKA RALLY



PANTHERS WITH SANYA WORKERS

"WE BUILT THE BIG 1964 OLYMPIC STADIUM, AND NOW WE WISH WE COULD TEAR IT DOWN."
Sanya Liberation League

To fight the brokers and the rampant police brutality in their community, the Sanya Liberation League was organized in March of 1968. In June of that year, the League led an attack on the local police station. The fighting lasted for a period of about 2 weeks before the pigs could bring the situation under "control". And in order for them to do so, they had to bring in riot pigs (Kido Tai) from all over Tokyo to quell the resistance. These sort of uprisings have been happening every year for the last several years, but last year was the first time that they had any kind of organized leadership and a set of demands (getting rid of the brokers, and opposition to the presence and repressive measures of the pigs in their neighborhoods).

The workers of Sanya constructed the enormous Tokyo Olympic Stadium, and they worked on the construction of the fastest train in the world. And now they see that the things that they have created are being used by the imperialists. The trains of Japan carry American military equipment and fuel for planes going to Vietnam. The airports can be used



EARLY IN THE MORNING IN SANYA AND A TYPICAL DAY OF OPPRESSION

by the American military machine any time it wants to use it. During the Tet offensive, the Tokyo airport was practically turned into a military airport. It was very difficult, if not impossible for civilians to catch their flights since the American military was monopolizing the Japanese skies. The Sanya Liberation League says, "We constructed them, and now we want to tear them down because of what they stand for."

The Sanya Liberation League relates to serving the people. Since most of the men do not have families, they have set up a kind of cooperative restaurant where the workers can get their meals for lower prices. And in a lot of ways, they become like one big family finding strength in one another. They have discussions about how to fight the brokers and the Japanese pigs. And they are trying to coordinate their activities with the progressive activities in other parts of Tokyo. If there could be many actions in Tokyo at the same time, the pigs forces would have to spread themselves thinner. The Sanya workers are most militant in battle and most determined in struggle, because they figure they have nothing to lose.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Roberta Alexander
BLACK PANTHER PARTY



THE SANYA DISTRICT IN TOKYO



A PIG, - IS A PIG.

CULTURAL NATIONALISM VS REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM

EARL OFARI helped to found and is vice-president of the Black Student Union at California State College at Los Angeles. He has worked with SNCC and other organizations in the Black community in Los Angeles. He is working on his M.A. degree in Sociology at Cal State, L.A. He has written articles which have appeared in the L.A. Free Press, the Guardian, Negro Digest and Black Politics. He is also working on a book dealing with Black capitalism to be published by Monthly Review Press.

The recent murders of John Huggins and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter of the Black Panther Party and the subsequent implication and arrest of several members of Ron Karenga's US organization has served to dramatize the glaring ideological deficiencies inherent in the thought of many of today's so-called Black cultural nationalist organizations.

In this particular instance, the onus of cultural nationalism's historic fallacy just happened to fall on Karenga and US organization. US, though representative of many of the negative trends embodied in much of cultural nationalism's programmatic content, by no means should be viewed here as the sole malefactor. Before continuing though, it must be made clear that Black cultural nationalism, in varied forms, historically (the Harlem arts renaissance of the 20's being an excellent example) as well as in the *contemporary Black experience* has been a positive force. It has played an extremely vital role at times in both heightening the level of the Black liberation struggle while at the same instant increasing in stages the development of Black radical consciousness.

Nonetheless, at this critical point in the liberation struggle it is time for Black people to make a thorough questioning analysis of many of the assumptions and goals that have been put forth by many of the self-appointed "new-wave" Black spokesmen. Such an analysis I feel will help to place in a more tenable perspective such as yet unsatisfactorily answered questions as: "what do we as Black freedom fighters want?" and more importantly "how do we go about getting it." For at present what is sorely needed is to move the liberation struggle from the trappings of personal ego-building phraseology to the collective development of productive ideology. This must be done if Black people don't want to see other Huggins' and Carters'.

As can readily be seen...The past half decade has seen awakened in the spirit of Afro-America a new found sense of spiritual and cultural awareness. Black people, in ever increasing numbers, have begun to turn the traditional racist myth of Black inferiority around full cycle to the point where now, as the expressions go, Black is both beautiful and superior. Symbolically representing the resurgence of Black cultural awareness is the current popularity of such things as the "Afro" or natural hair styles, the wearing of traditional African dress, the adoption of African names and the vague attempts on the part of some Black people to learn an African language. As Leroi Jones, one of the chief architects of the new Black cultural renaissance, has written: "The Black Man must aspire to Blackness," and, "The Black Man must idealize himself as Black."

The concepts and ideas embodied in the philosophy of Black cultural nationalism have also laid the groundwork for the formation of many new Black organizations in Afro-America. To a great extent, however, the existence of these organizations dedicated to the principles and precepts of cultural nationalism has a very defined and extended history. In fact, one would be correct in stating that cultural nationalism (at least the internalized feeling) has been a component part of the Black experience ever since the first slave ship from Africa arrived in the Western Hemisphere.

The emotive desire embedded within the Black masses in the Americas for a national existence and self-expression was the dominanat force behind many of the early slave rebellions. Though Cultural nationalism was always present in the manner, ritual and song of Black people during slavery, it wasn't until the mid-19th century in the U.S. that any substantive political or social organizational framework could be developed for its expression. The main impetus behind this development was the theoretical writings of a Harvard trained Black physician-- Dr. Martin Delaney. Delaney, even at that early date, disdained the use of the term negro and preferred to be called Black. Delaney, born of pure West African stock, took a pointed interest in the study of African history and culture. Delaney, later, in his seminal work, The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Coloured People of the United States, Politically Considered, published in 1852, outlined a program which he felt would speak to the immediate needs of Black people. Part of Delaney's program called for the emigration to, and the colonization *of Eastern Africa by Black people*. With this plan, Delaney became one of the first Black leaders to advance the idea of a Black mass exodus back to Africa. This idea, of course, was to assume much greater proportions in the ideology of many later cultural nationalist organizations. Delaney also was the first to enunciate the idea that Black people in their separate existence in America did, in fact, constitute a "Nation within a Nation." Since Delaney, the thread of this ideal has been picked up and expounded by nearly every major Black Nationalist spokesman ranging from Garvey to Malcolm X.

Nonetheless, Delaney in much of his planning revealed many of the theoretical weaknesses which have plagued to a large degree many of today's Black cultural groupings. One of the more obvious here being the tendency toward rank opportunism. As an example, Delaney in calling for Black people to return to Africa actively sought the "aid" and "assistance" of the European Nations; England and France in particular. This came at a time when both of these nations along with the rest of Europe were greedily trying to establish colonial hegemony over the Third World continents of Asia and Africa. Delaney further felt that the contacts with these European nations should be made by certain select representatives of Afro-America which were to be chosen from a "confidential council." This was little more than a 19th century version of the "Black missionary complex," which today almost completely colors the outlook and mentality of the Black elite in their dealings with the Black masses.

With the Civil War and "emancipation", the organized structure of the cultural nationalist movement collapsed. However, its spirit remained a part of the latent character of the now "free" Black masses. It wasn't until the early 20th century, with the establishment by Cyril V. Briggs of the African Blood Brotherhood, that cultural nationalism again received direct and open expression. The Brotherhood based its name on an African cultural rite of fraternization which demanded that the parties involved mingled their drops of blood. The Brotherhood from its beginning was a



MARCUS GARVEY

secret Black organization dedicated to Black liberation through racial pride and equality. Included in the Brotherhood's eight point program was the call for a Black united front. Brigg's movement, like Delaney's before him, though, only served as a prelude to the grand-daddy of all the cultural nationalist movements. And that was, of course, Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association's (U.N.I.A.) "back to Africa" movement. With the emergence of Marcus Garvey, cultural nationalism for the first time attained a legitimate wide-spread recognition from literally millions of Black people throughout the world (for Garvey's movement was truly international in both appeal and scope). Garvey's skillful espousal of Black nationalist tenets combined with his ability to organize Black people into a mass base assured his U.N.I.A. of the largest membership ever enjoyed by any Black organization in America. Garvey's movement added two new dimensions to the ideological framework of cultural nationalism. The first was anti-communism. Garvey indicated on several occasions that he considered "the white capitalist...to be the only convenient friend" of the Black worker. In addition, Garvey stated: "Fundamentally what racial difference is there between a White Communist, Republican or Democrat?...On the appeal of race interest the Communist is as ready as either to show his racial... superiority over the Negro."

To a degree, what Garvey alludes to here is and has been true in all too many cases in the past. Often the White communist, in so far as Black people have been concerned, has been just that-- White first and then (if there is anything left) communist. Also, White racism, being the all-powerful factor in American life that it is, Garvey's mistrust of anything White was at least in part understandable. However, Garvey's anti-communism was much more than just a defense or reaction against the omnipresence of White racism. It was a tactical ploy skillfully designed to cover up the personal exploitative designs held by the Black elite themselves (many of whom formed a nucleus of Garvey's organization) on the economy of the Black communities. Garvey's anti-communism, based on the mistrust of White people, was phony and misleading, particularly in light of the fact that he was more than willing to work with the Ku Klux Klan (who for the most part were nothing but Southern Democrats with sheets). According to Garvey: "I regard the Klan, the Anglo-Saxon Clubs and White American Societies as better friends of the race than all other groups of hypocritical Whites put together."

The second extension Garvey made in the framework of cultural nationalism was the greater emphasis put on the role of Black business as a means for Black liberation. Whether realized or not, the emphasis placed on Black capitalist business, by Garvey, was the direct complement of his position of anti-communism. It should not be a surprise, though, that Garvey did look to business as a source of strength for the building of his movement. For Garvey, as it is known, came to the U.S. in 1915 for the specific purpose of meeting with Booker T. Washington and thereby joining his then Jamaica-based U.N.I.A. up with Washington's movement for Black (elite) economic "independence." As Garvey himself related: "I read 'Up from Slavery' by Booker T. Washington and then my doom--if I may so call it--of being a race leader dawned upon me.."After Washington's death, Garvey lost little time in trying to implement his Black capitalist economic program which it must be said even at that early point was already outdated and valueless in so far as the practical needs of the Black masses.

Unperturbed, Garvey in 1919 set up both the Black Star Steamship Line and the Negro Factories Corporation which ostensibly was designed to promote business opportunities among Black people. As expected, like his smokescreen anti-communism, Garvey's emphasis on Black business as a solution to the economic depression of Black people played right into the hands of the Black elite. As past practice has demonstrated, capitalist business enterprise whether White or Black is based solely on the motive of profit; to be more specific, exploitative profit. The Black elite, who in reality are little more than corporate enterprises' front men in the Black communities, have gotten rich themselves off of the meagre earnings of the Black workers. Another aspect of the Black elite's pursuit of capitalist economics, is the intensification and broadening of the class cleavages within the Black communities; thus preventing the attainment of a genuine Black united front against capitalist exploitation and racism. As can be seen then Black capitalism's proponents--the Black elite--effects the corporate power structure's main desire. It creates divisions while maintaining vested interest. So Garvey with his promotion of Black business enterprise laid the foundation for the future "Buy Black" and "support Black" campaigns which the Black elite over the years has so judiciously plugged in their quest for profit.

EARL OFARI

CONT. NEXT WEEK

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER DISCUSSES REVOLUTION: AN INTERVIEW FROM EXILE

(Editor's note: The exiled Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, Eldridge Cleaver, surfaced last summer at the Pan-African Festival in Algiers. This interview was done at that time by Stefan Aust, a West German journalist.) LNS

QUESTION: What was the situation in America at the time of Stokely Carmichael's split from the Black Panther Party, and how did it contribute to the split?

ELDRIDGE: The whole approach to the problem the government is taking, black capitalism, they're using the slogan of black power to conceal that. This forced Stokely to continue articulating what he started in such a way as to make it clear he's not involved in black capitalism. But by quitting the scene and not defending his position, the whole thing has been coopted by people who are in CORE, the whole organization has gone into black capitalism. The former head of CORE, James Farmer, has become the top man in the Nixon administration to implement that, the man who succeeded Farmer as the head of CORE, Floyd McKissick, he has gotten himself an organization, a business firm which he calls Floyd McKissick Inc., and a lot of funds are funneled through him.

We regard this as the advent of the neo-colonialist phase of our peculiar situation in the United States because it corresponds to the moment the colonial power decides to grant a measure of independence to the colony and replace the colonial regime with a regime of puppets. And this is what they're doing now in the United States by pulling certain levels of the black bourgeoisie into the power structure and developing for them a vested interest in the capitalist system. So these really defiant positions, the people who pretended to be revolutionary, are accepting funds.

The government will give anybody money. They offered money to the Black Panther Party; they offer it to everybody, and they don't care what your line is, they just want to get you involved in their programs, then they begin to put the squeeze on you to get you dependent.

A lot of people are accepting this money and they're using the slogan Black Power by equating black capitalism with power. And this is one of the very bad things that has happened as a result of what Stokely was talking about. We offered him the position of Prime Minister of the Party to give him a base which he no longer has as a result of his problems with SNCC and the decomposition of SNCC itself. But he abandoned the field. Now he's talking about the struggles in Africa. He wants to liberate Ghana; it just doesn't stand up.

The key thing to me, he made a statement that I think is very key. He said, "You guys are on top now, but just watch, I'll be back up there." So that whole type of thinking is an ego trip and constantly making these invidious comparisons. We were talking to him when we first came here because we thought he would realize the mistake he had made and apologize to the Party, and we would then accept him back into the Party because we had long been uptight about where he was functioning. He said he did not know the McClellan Committee was engaged in investigations of the Party at the time he issued his resignation and charges. But the charges he lodged against the Party seemed to echo the charges of these stooges who were mouthing before the McClellan Committee. When this was brought to his attention he said he didn't know the McClellan Committee was involved in an investigation. And in light of not knowing this, he said he was willing to make a statement to clarify the situation and to make it clear that he did not have anything to do with the McClellan Committee's attack, so it boiled down to a question of how to do that, and he was procrastinating, and then he made that final statement, something snapped in me, and I was no longer willing to go along with it.

I had been the one who was trying to salvage the situation and give him a chance to apologize to the Party, and everyone else was perfectly willing to let him go and not go to the expense. So when he took the position he took, we called him up and just told him we were not going to try to arrange that other thing that we were talking about, and that we would accept his resignation as he wrote it and deal with it as he put it forth. And that's the last we've heard of him.

QUESTION: His two most important issues in this letter were first, calling the Party dogmatic, and second, condemning the alliances with white radical movements.

ELDRIDGE: I think these two are very related because when he refers to dogmatism, what he is actually referring to is the fact that we are a Marxist Leninist Party, and implicit in Marxism-Leninism is proletarian internationalism, and solidarity with all people who are struggling and this, of course, includes white people. So that since his main object is non-alliance with whites, and turning one's back on whites and having no policy towards them at all, just to ignore them, he has to come down heavy on both those points in order to maintain his position. And we consider this position to be racist.

We recognize that we cannot function in this way, particularly these days when nationally and internationally they're using negritude as a way to create divisions amongst people, and the domestic counterpart of this international approach is the use of black capitalism, black consciousness. We call it cultural nationalism in the United States, and it's been made very clear how they finance certain cultural nationalist organizations. They have already exposed themselves as being tools of the power structure by their activities. So that another definition is required to make distinctions between friends and enemies when they are coming in all colors. And we feel that the only safe guides to action are the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism, that they are relevant at this point for that reason and we choose to work on that basis and let the rest of that go because black people have already gained their consciousness, they have a sense of their identity, which was lost in the United States. At the time that this was happening, it was very progressive, it was a very good thing that was coming about. But after people had assimilated that and were reminded of who they were and everything, to maintain that position and not to go any further becomes reactionary.

This is what has happened to Stokely and a lot of other people, a lot of other people got hung up culturally in that sense, but Stokely has gotten hung up politically in that sense. There's a false distinction people make between culture and politics, and then after making this false distinction, he confuses culture with politics again. So that it's like an error compounded with an error, and we can't deal with that.

QUESTION: Being critical of cultural nationalism, how do you see the role of this African cultural festival?

ELDRIDGE: Well I think it brought together all of the experienced ideological lines, it forced certain things into the open, and it really serves to drive home to a lot of people that this negritude and cultural nationalism are stumbling blocks to the people's liberation struggles rather than assistances. I think that a lot of the conversations I have had here have been repeated over and over again, people who are involved in the process of struggle for liberation at this moment, seem to be more keenly aware of the negative aspects of this as opposed to those who have already gotten independence and have some very reactionary regimes in power, because they're using this. The people who are struggling are open to all assistance they can get, and they don't want to foreclose any avenue by some simple-minded ideological positions.

But those who are already in power and have gotten their liberation on this false basis, they're content to keep it going. One very interesting thing that I've heard people talking about is that following World War II when all the colonies were fighting for their liberation on the basis of nationalism rather than building a strong revolutionary party. This has proven to be a mistake historically. It was the easy way out because it is easier to mobilize people on the basis of nationalism than it is to create a strong Marxist-Leninist organization. The counter-revolutions that have set in and have put many of these nationalist regimes out of power and saddled the people with these oppressive regimes, again demonstrate the point that the only governments that have really been able to survive this sweep have been those governments who have gotten their liberation and created, or even had before, or created during the struggle or after the struggle, a strong Marxist-Leninist Party. And I think this is borne out by the experience of China, Cuba and the Eastern European Socialist countries, including the Soviet Union. That no matter what you say about some of the revisionist policies that are rampant in that area, still I will always choose those Socialist regimes over capitalist regimes. There is something there that is able to withstand the attempt by the imperialists and capitalists to roll back the tide. They found this easy to do in countries that are held together only by very narrow nationalism.

QUESTION: Do you think the role of nationalism in the movement for liberation is no longer important?

ELDRIDGE: I think it will have a continuing importance and there is a proper way to deal with nationalism. I don't think there is necessarily a distinction between, or should I say a conflict between, nationalism and proletarian internationalism, because it's been shown many times that if you can't love those around you, which is a form of nationalism, relate to those within your own entity, then you can't relate to those beyond you, and by the same token if you can relate to those beyond you, and not be able to relate to those near you, then there's still a problem. I'm talking about this full blown nationalist approach to the problem that completely obscures class contradictions and class problems and unites people over class lines and fitting the whole nation out for problems later on. Because on that basis, the bourgeoisie, which is always better educated at this stage, is able to move into the apparatus of the government because people with skills are required, and when they move in they also get the power, and because things are organized on a nationalist base, there's nothing there to counteract them usurping the power, organizing coups and turning the tide back. I think people are moving away from that, particularly young people, young students who are in those countries, most of them are very conscious and most of them are turning to Marxism-Leninism.

QUESTION: The main issue in the split of the American SDS was the relation to the black movement, what do you think of the split, what do you think is the task of the white mother country radicals in this special situation now?

ELDRIDGE: I think the people who were disrupting SDS were the people who had this faulty analysis of the situation, they were still functioning on the basis of an analysis of what we call the Old Left. They are not recognizing the ethnic struggles that are going on in the United States which often obscure the past struggle. The people in SDS who we work with have related to the analysis we have made and they see that it is functional because in the United States you have Mexican-Americans, Puerto-Ricans, Indians, Eskimos, Chinese-Americans, black Americans, white Americans and many other ethnic groups. These ethnic groups have been divided from each other and they are in such a posture at this time that there's no point in trying to make the mistakes that have been made in the past by trying to pull them all into one homogeneous organization without taking all these peculiarities into consideration. We say that's putting the cart before the horse. What we have to do is take the people as they are right now, pull them together into organizational machinery, and then create other machinery that they can be pulled into once they get that consciousness. This is done through a process of coalition and it does function, and it's functioning right now, and developing, and we're able to deal with much more of the problems than we were when we were trying to pull poor people into one group and continue depleting a lot of our energies by a lot of in-fighting over that. These people who are in PL and who are very dogmatic, and who did not want to recognize what was happening in the other communities and start to impose their own ideological perspective upon the people, did get rebuffed, I consider them splitting from SDS as a fitting rebuff, to the situation they were trying to perpetuate.

QUESTION: After spending so much time in the Third World, have you changed your views on American policy, can you say anything about experiences you have had since you left the United States?

ELDRIDGE: I've been more confirmed in the position and attitude that the Black Panther Party had. I recognize now that some of the things we were doing and trying to do are even more important than we realized they were, particularly in the directions we struck out in, in trying to get around the obstacles that were created by Stokely Carmichael and SNCC, but which we feel were historically necessary -- with black power. We took a different course in the United States, and we did it out of necessity. After coming into contact with other people who are revolutionaries but are not black, you see how important it is in order to work with them. I've been appalled to a greater extent than I ever dreamed that I could have been by the visible results of colonialism and imperialism. We in the United States who are oppressed, in comparison to what I've seen around the world, it seems as though we are oppressed between slices of silk, because there's nothing comparable to the poverty I've seen around the world, there's nothing comparable in the United States, even in the most oppressed areas.

I recognize that the United States government is the number one enemy of mankind and very much involved in perpetuating all these things which I have seen, through their international organizations such as NATO, SEATO and through the United Nations. They are able to perpetuate the stagnation of people and to corrupt their attempts to industrialize their countries. This, I think, has had a great influence on me, also a lot of pure revolutionary fervor that I have encountered amongst people has served to stimulate more dedication within myself.

QUESTION: Don't you think it's very important that the liberation fronts in the Third World work very closely with the Black Panther Party?

ELDRIDGE: Not only with the Black Panther Party, but with all revolutionary forces within the United States. Certainly, I think it has been demonstrated here at this festival in Algiers, which has been held under the auspices of the OAU (Organization of African Unity) but also of the whole government of Algeria, the fact that they had the courage to invite us, the fact that they had the courage to invite myself, considering the situation that existed, I think this has gone a long way toward strengthening solidarity.

It had a very strong impact on the United States, I'm sure, and I think that the important thing about this is that in the past there have been individuals, black people from the United States who have come over to make certain contacts and made certain promises that they were unable to fulfill, and for the first time a strong nationwide organization is making contact with these people, and because our relations do not depend on any one person for its perpetuation, that this will have to strengthen these links and create channels that can be perpetuated in the future. These are some of the very positive aspects that I see in this.

QUESTION: Are there any concrete plans for cooperation, such as sending delegations to other countries?

ELDRIDGE: Naturally we want to cooperate and aid each other in any way that we possibly can. A lot of this of course cannot be talked about, we can say that the people have expressed great gladness at the development in the United States, the fact that revolutionary vanguards are being created. It gives them great hope to know that even in Babylon, a revolution can be struggled for. And it helps them in their struggle because they say that if those guys can do it over there, then what's wrong with us here!? We all know that we are dealing with the same enemy. Just to know that there is someone in the same fight with you always strengthens your dedication.

QUESTION: Do you think the United States had changed since you left?

ELDRIDGE: I think the repression has increased markedly, and this means that the effectiveness of the Party's attack on the power structure was becoming intolerable to the power structure itself. One of the important things that developed after I left was the Breakfast for Children Program that the Party adopted. This was a way for the Party to strengthen its links with the community and to get thousands and thousands of people across the country involved in the program, exposed to the Party. And these people got very angry when the government started attacking the Breakfast for Children Program. There has been much more acceptance of the Party.

It's very interesting that many of the things that we were advocating, that we had been spearheading while I was there, took on more urgency and more acceptability after I left, because people had to relate to that. It's just like -- from talking to the brothers in the delegation that came here from the United States, just to hear them talk, there was a long time when the Black Panther Party was shot through with cultural nationalism, and we're trying to get out of that bag. The brothers who are here now are brothers who have been in the Party almost from its beginning and I had a chance to watch them develop, see in them resistance to the direction we were trying to take, in terms of relations with white revolutionaries, so that there has been a complete change in that.

I heard one brother refer to the people of Scandinavia as our Scandinavian brothers and sisters, and this particular cat at one time when we were trying to mobilize people from the community to go out to the courthouse and join in a demonstration at the court for Huey Newton when he went to trial, he refused to get into the sound truck because the sound truck was being driven by a white guy.

It was necessary for this guy to drive the sound truck because he had the license and the permit and it just had to be that way. But he refused to get into the sound truck, and now he is the one who made the statement I referred to. That indicates to me that things have changed and that a lot of things that we were trying to do while I was there have become accepted. That's just one, there are other things, but that's one of the most difficult.

There is a lot of development. The Party is stronger and much larger. I think that the great mushrooming and developing of the Party ideologically is one of the most important things that has happened. We always did relate to Marxism-Leninism, but there was a great difficulty in maintaining Party discipline. It wasn't functional, it wasn't really clear how you could apply democratic centralism in that situation, with the data we had to deal with.

One thing that's important, a lot of people don't understand why a lot of people were purged from the Party. During the time when Huey Newton was going to trial, we dropped a lot of our programs because of the necessity of mobilizing as many people as possible. We virtually closed the membership, we did not make any public announcement, and we started just pulling people in. We knew who the Panthers were, but in order to maximize the number of people we pulled in, we did not argue with people if they put on



IN SOLIDARITY AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY -- THE NLF OF SOUTH VIETNAM, AND THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY OF BABYLON

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

Eldridge, Discusses Revolution

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

a black leather jacket or black berets, or said that they were Panthers. They just walked in and said they support Huey Newton and they wanted to join our organization. We didn't have time to conduct our political education classes on this, which is a very important process in our recruitment, that the brothers maintain. After the trial of Huey Newton was over and the verdict was in, it was a question of going back to our other activities that we had been involved in. At that time, a lot of people who came into the organization in that campaign, to free Huey, they proved to be very undisciplined, and non-functional, and they created a lot of problems for the Party and they were not amenable to political education classes. So we just came down hard.

I wasn't there at the time, I was aware of it, I knew what was happening and why it was happening, and a lot of these people were defined as not being members of the Party. And those who wanted to become members of the Party were required to go through political education classes. So that a lot of people who were purged have been admitted back into the Party, but a lot of them were purged for a cause and it will be a long time -- if ever -- before they will be readmitted.

QUESTION: What do you plan for yourself for the future: What kind of political work do you want to do?

ELDRIDGE: I think there's a lot I can do making contacts for the Party on the international situation, I have a book that I want to finish, but really, I must return to the United States, that's what I want to do. That's really what I'm working on, getting that ready.

QUESTION: Now that the NLF has almost won the Vietnam war and entered this new stage of fighting imperialism, does this change anything?

ELDRIDGE: I think it will be very positive, if you think back you will remember that the whole approach of U.S. imperialism at the time was that the liberation forces in Vietnam had to be defeated, or else other people will get the idea that they can fight for their freedom too. And I think that this has proven that a tenacious fight in the end will be victorious. This is now happening. The United States will, I think, force people to fight just as hard for their liberation; on the whole I think this will strengthen the determination of people to fight on to victory.

QUESTION: Do you think that the persecution of the Black Panther Party now in the United States demands that you create a new kind of tactic to deal with that?

ELDRIDGE: Those things they've been doing have been frame-ups, and a lot of people think we are not serious when we say that, but what they do and what they have been doing is sending in a few provacateurs who will indulge people in conversations about blowing up bridges, or blowing up supermarkets. And on the basis of a few frivolous words that have been passed, they blow it up into a full scale conspiracy and arrest all these people and put ransom on them as opposed to bail, drain our finances; they know what they're doing and this is the technique they use in the United States to keep the Party on the defensive.

I made the decision that I was not going to submit to this type of chicanery and go to jail when it's very clear that they are manipulating the situation. And I think this is something we are all going to have to get into, because we cannot come up with $200,000 bail. When you think of 21 people in New York, 16 people in Chicago, it adds up to a king's ransom, and we don't have that kind of money, we have no process for getting that kind of money, so I think the people who are dedicated to functioning in a revolutionary manner will start adopting the attitude that they will not be arrested. And they ought to be ready at all times to defend themselves, so that when the man comes down on them and tries to arrest them, these cats are going to start dealing with it right on the spot, because that's more desirable than laying up in a penitentiary rotting away.

QUESTION: And is the United Front Against Fascism part of this tactic to create solidarity?

ELDRIDGE: It's a very important move in that regard, but there's another front that I think needs to be created, and this is something that I have been working on and which I intend to continue working on, and it's something we've been calling the North American Liberation Front. I think it's very timely, because many people see the situation that we are confronted with as one in which politics have been transformed into war, and there's no point in kidding ourselves anymore; what we have to do is fight. We have the terrain there to fight. Many people think that armed struggle carried out in the mountains in Cuba or in Vietnam is one thing, and that it could not happen in the United States. But the United States has more mountains than all of these other areas, it has the advantage of mountainous areas, and a highly organized situation, and it has rural areas. It's so large that the government forces would be forced to spread out very thinly, at the same time that dissatisfaction in the ranks of the United States Army is at an all-time peak. The stockades and military prisons are overflowing with people who have deserted and don't want to fight in Vietnam. And I think that the contradictions that have arisen within the ranks of the United States Army will continue to increase, more so when they are finally turned against the American people



EXPULSION OF CHARLES ROBERTS

Charles Roberts has been told several times to close out the Branch bank account and to turn in the money. He has also been sent several notes, messages, and one letter telling him to turn in the office key and to relate to getting the money from the bank to me.



He has failed to follow these orders and I went to his house for the key, which I now have, but the money is still not in my hands.

His woman (Cynthia Brooks, no longer a member of the Black Panther Party) came to my house last Sunday and said that Charles said he would turn in the s--t when he got good and ready, that he was tired of the Captain of Defense and all that bulls--t.

"All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people. How then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits?" (Red Book P. 172)

Subjectivism, liberalism, disregard of organizational discipline, individualism, and putschism are bad traits that must be discarded from the rank and file of the Party.

No army can function without officers, and orders, to guide them; and all armies have strong disciplinary actions to deal with troops who fail to recognize the importance of following orders. The People's Army can be no different. Our success depends on a well trained (DISCIPLINED) army. The Black Panther Party ostracizes repeated violators of Party line and Party discipline just as other armies dishonorably discharge undesirables.

An attitude such as Charles Roberts' is detrimental to a vanguard organization such as the Black Panther Party, and we must cleanse our ranks of such reactionary individualists as Roberts who can only relate from the subjective level of cognition.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Sonny Collins - Defense Captain
Staten Island Branch, B.P.P.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

The oppressive pig policemen are not satisfied with occupying our communities with experienced storm troopers, but now there are rookie pig cops in our communities using the people for target practice. These rookie simpletons are patrolling our communities, looking for someone that they can brutalize or murder, looking for human dummies that they can train on. The racist dog policemen are never put in our communities to serve the people, but are sent here to watch the people and to protect the businessmen's money. And when those rookie pig cops are sent to occupy the Black Colony and act as watch dogs and flunkies for fascist dogs like Nixon, Agnew, Johnson, and Rockefeller, the only things they are capable of doing are to act like fools and murderers. When the desires and needs of the people are left in the hands of vicious, racist, fascist fools, the only thing tht these crazy, new pig cops can do is to act like the older, crazier pig cops. None of these gestapo troops are needed in the Black Communities. The people living in these areas can deal with their own problems. Outside cut-throats, and liars are not needed to murder and torture the people, whom they are supposed to serve. Drive the pig cop and his rookie flunkies from our communities. Rise up against the oppressive arm of the slave master and remove the racist dog policeman from the BLACK COLONY!

OPPRESSED PEOPLE, BE STRONG!

Chicago

FREE MEDICAL CARE

The Black Panther Party is establishing a FREE PEOPLE'S MEDICAL CLINIC to satisfy the medical needs of our community. We understand that the capitalists in America will never provide adequate medical service so the Black Panther Party has moved to establish another community program in which all oppressed people can be involved.

Technical assistance, supplies and donations can be brought to the office of the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, 2350 West Madison Street, Chicago. For further information, call 243-8276.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

PEACE IN VIETNAM, WAR IN BABYLON!



When brothers are being oppressed here in America, they should stay here to fight fascist oppression and tyranny. There is no need for Black brothers who are still slaves or subject to slavery at any given moment to fight a war that will put other class brothers under the foot of U.S. aggression! Our White radical class brothers have recognized that the killing and terror in Vietnam is just a con game, run by the Nixons, Duponts, and Rockefellers. Oppressed people do not and should not leave this fascist, racist land to extend U.S. fascism and racism in Vietnam? You brothers involved in the military are being used to occupy territory on the international level, just like the vicious dog policeman is doing right here in America. Come on home to join the struggle here. This is where the fight is. Come back to fight for the people and not for the fascist dogs who are only interested in exploiting, oppressing, and murdering our brothers and sisters in Vietnam. Come on home and fight for something that you will be proud to fight for!

OUR FIGHT IS NOT IN VIETNAM
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Baltimore Chapter
1209 N. Eden St.



NAVY

Dear Brothers,

I just wrote to tell you that I'm with the movement, even though I'm in the Navy. I'm still a brother, not fighting for the pigs but for my brothers and sisters. I'm from Boston and there are a lot of people behind the Panthers 100%.

Some people say I'm a tom because I'm in the service. But I'm not. I know how the pig is. I'm with him everyday. I'm not the only one in here that feels this way. There are a lot of brothers like me.

I love my people. I know what's happening to them because it's happening to me in here. We get newspapers all the time. When I get out of the Navy I plan to join so that we can stop racism and fascism.

I'm sorry I don't have any contributions. I'm just a Black man trying to survive. Keep up the fight brothers.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!
REVOLUTION NOW!
U.S. Naval Amphibious Base
Little Creek, Virginia
R.P.



NIXON COOLS IT IN THE WALDORF

The Second Front

SOMEWHERE IN SOUTH VIETNAM (LNS) -- "Hectic Activity on 'The Second Front' " is the headline over an article about the U.S. movement against the war in Vietnam. The article was written by Ha Duy Phuoc and was published in "South Vietnam in Struggle," a regular bulletin put out by the NLF Information Committee, printed in liberated territory inside South Vietnam.

The "second front" described in the article is the battle of Americans against the imperialist policies of the U.S. government.

"What used to be the 'silent generation' has entered the political lists," notes Ha Duy Phuoc. "Right-minded Americans, stirred to action by the Vietnamese people's resistance to American aggression, have taken to the street to protest against the policies of the White House."

The article, published in the Sept. 2 issue, takes note of the growing GI movement as well as of the rebellions of Black people. Ha Duy Phuoc concludes:

"The South Vietnamese people warmly hail the American people's movement against the American government's war of aggression in Vietnam. They wholeheartedly support the legitimate demands of Afro-Americans. With their unyielding resistance, they are determined to join forces with the American people to fulfill their common aspiration: to end the war of aggression in South Vietnam, to have all American troops withdrawn from South Vietnam!"



DRAFT

Louisville Ky. (LNS) -- Southen activists have published a pamphlet on how the draft is used to stop movements for social change. The booklet, entitled "An enemy of the People," tells how two organizers of the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF) are facing prison for refusing to be drafted into the armed forces. For copies, write to SCEF, 3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.

AN OPEN LETTER TO BROTHERS IN THE MILITARY

This is an open letter to all of my Brothers in the military.

I have been in the grasp of the pig for 10 years and I must admit that for at least 5 of those years I was sound asleep. I had allowed myself to fall into the groove that many of us have allowed ourselves to be placed or brainwashed into and that is that the pig in time would treat us right. As I became more and more aware of what was and is happening, I realize that there is not enough time, as a matter of fact, it's too godd--n late. Not only has he not given what has been promised, but he has no intention of so doing.

The military is not only as Brother Carmichael states, committing physical genocide against the Blacks, it is also committing mental genocide, and few of us escape. I have and now I am mad as hell, because I saw myself 10 years ago as part of the great American plan. But brother don't be fooled as I was. You cannot do anything for your people while in the clutches of the pig. I would like to tell all of you who read this, to use this time to arm yourselves mentally, read, discuss and think. And if you do this you will too, get mad.

The pigs' law is designed for the protection of the pig and he has placed an obligation on you to help him maintain his vast wealth. This obligation for most of you was not voluntary, because it carries a penalty of confinement for non-compliance. Don't play into the pig's hand and have him lock you up. Follow his rules as closely as possible, but don't take no s--t. Voice out your pride to be Black. And those brothers that have not awakened yet, wake them up. Don't let the bootlickers get too close to you because they are a direct line to the pig. When your time is up, get out in the street and pass the word on the pig and his war. Here are a list of things the pig would not like for you to do when you are no longer under his control:

(1) Join the movement. Become part of the Black Revolt by joining an organization (I don't mean one of those "Oh mister pig, please let me kiss your ass, organizations)

(2) If possible educate your brothers and sisters concerning the pig, because you have had one advantage that others have not, you have lived with the pig and you know him.

(3) Arm yourself to protect you and yours against his (pigs) aggression.

(4) This is the most important of all: DON'T TRUST THE pig.

I have two years left to serve in bondage and I will try to follow his (pig) rules as close as I can without sacrificing any of my principles and I will not take any s--t from him (pig) in any form, but I urge you to do as I will do when I get out.

F--K THE PIG!
354th Combat Support Group
A. D.

VET OF NAM AND DANANG EXPOSES MILITARY PIG LIES

BIGOTED OFFICER GETS JUMPED

Our company commander was an out and out bigot. He treated the black guys like shit. He used to especially pick on one black guy named Brown from Detroit. But one day he pushed it too far. When he told Brown to get his "black ass moving," Brown turned around and knocked him right on his back and then jumped on him and began to really beat hell out of him. The captain got guards to drag Brown away but Brown broke away from them and took two hand grenades and went after the bastard. He ran. They didn't try to court-martial Brown because they knew the captain was wrong. They transferred Brown to another unit.

The end as far as I was concerned came the day they stationed us a blocking force while the rest of the companies made a sweep. They were supposed to drive the VC and NVA into us. It never happened that way. They never caught anything. You could hear them coming a mile off, hollering "Bring up the line on the left" and "hold it up" and "go ahead."

This is how screwed up things were. They were stopped by VC position in a woods and they didn't even let us know about it. We had orders to move up along the tree line. We were walking out in the open not suspecting a thing when the VC opened up.

It was over in a couple of minutes.

Thirty-seven men dead or wounded.

BRASS RUN TANKS OVER WOUNDED

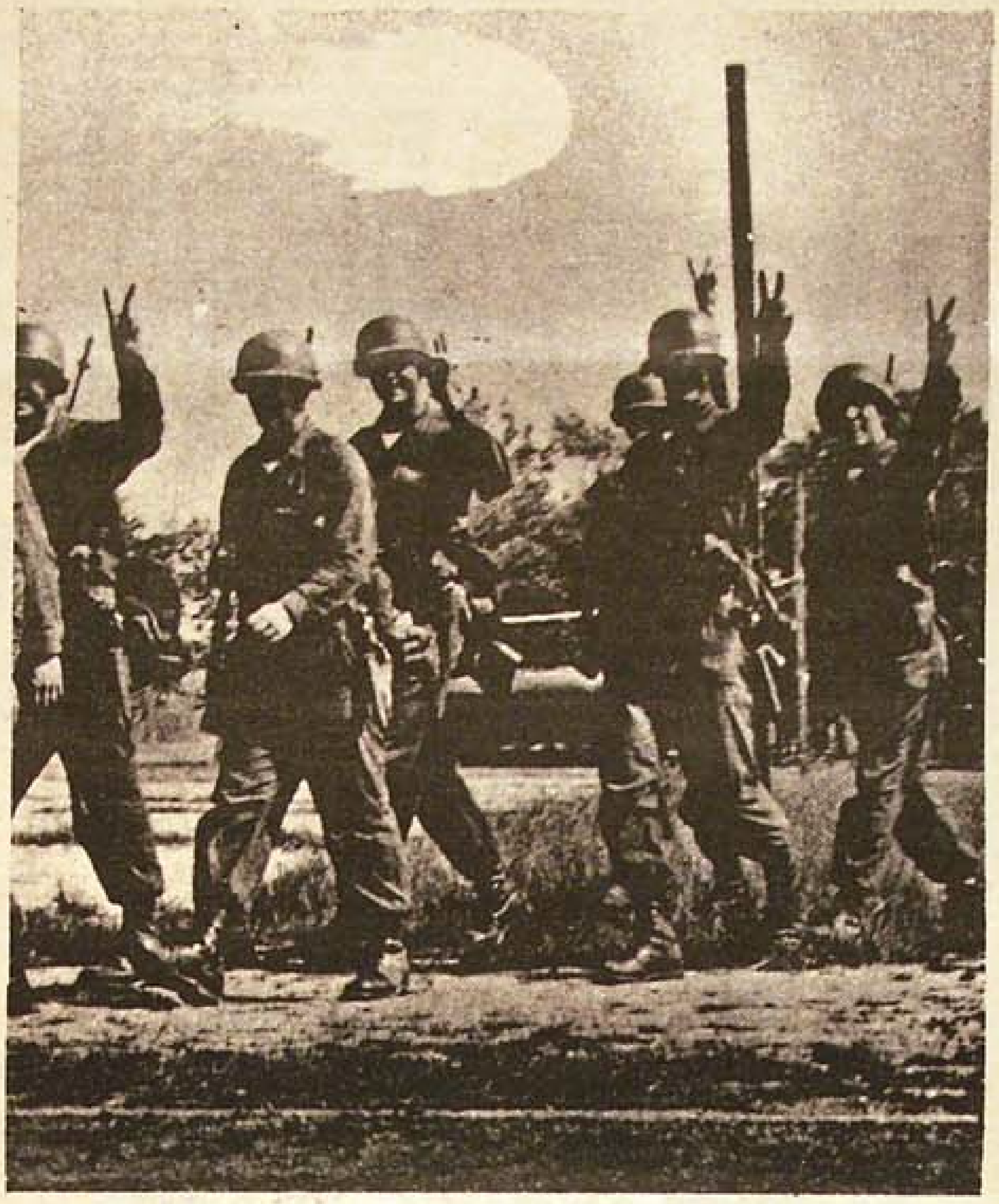
Then the battalion commander called for the tanks. He ordered them to move ahead. RIGHT OVER OUR OWN WOUNDED.

I saw one guy lying on his side. He was still breathing. The tank ran right over his head and smashed it down into the ground.

You know what the news report said? "The Marines had light casualties." They also claimed we had killed a lot of VC. Actually only two bodies were found.

That was the end. I told the senior corpsman, "I'm going out; the only way you're going to stop me is to shoot me in the back." I got on the helicopter going out.

They court-martialed me but I refused to go back. I told them "Out there it's screwed up; this is screwed up; and the country is screwed up. I'm through; I don't care what you do I'm not going back there."



THE RISING TIDE OF RESISTANCE ANSWERING THE RISING TIDE OF REPRESSION

That's how I happened to be in the Marine brig at Danang during the riot there. A special court-martial gave me four months hard labor. That was on July 9, 1968.

Conditions were rotten in the Danang brig. They took us out on working parties in groups of 10 men each and we had to string barbed wire in the sun. It must have been 125 degrees. One day when we were out working they refused to give us a real meal in the mess hall even though we were working right next to it. Instead they threw us some C rations.

We quit work. We went on strike and went and sat in the shade under a truck.

When six of the ten of us continued to refuse to work, they took us back to the brig and put us in segregation (solitary) for 5 days. They said they were charging us with "mutiny" but they never pressed the charge.

About half the prisoners in the brig were black and one night the watcher (guard) made some remark about a light being out and it's being dark and added some racist crack about the black guys. Word of this got around fast among the black guys. They were angry.

Every so often when we were sore about something we'd have a "hoorah" — that is, after lights out we'd start banging our tin cups on our bunks. It's contagious. A few guys start it and then more and more pick it up until practically everybody is doing it. There were about 300 guys in the brig at this time. It makes a hell of a racket.

This night it didn't stop at that. We went right out to the fence. We had a bucket. We all pissed in it and when the sergeant of the guard came along we let him have the whole bucketful.

Then guys got two by fours and snapped off the chains that held the gates between the sections of the brig. Everybody went. We took over the whole stockade.

They ringed the place with Marines with shotguns and dogs, but that night we had control of everything inside. We supplied ourselves with food from the mess hall and we held the place from Friday, August 19, to Sunday afternoon.

During the time we were in control we took good care of the segregation cell blocks where they put you for punishment; we burned the whole place down.

We knew who the informers among us were. Guys took care of them too.

On Sunday afternoon they stormed the place with tear gas. They took 11 men who they said were the leaders and imprisoned them in the dog kennels — with the snakes, fleas, lice, and the rain for two weeks. Four of these men were finally charged. Of the four, three of them were black. The other eight were shipped to the Philippines and Okinawa and elsewhere to clear them out of the brig.

Four or five weeks later I was charged with illegal entry into the hospital dispensary section of the brig. But the charge was never pressed.

After the riot, the food improved somewhat and they got some new personnel to improve running the place. But there was another change harder to pinpoint but more important.

The leaders of the rebellion were the black guys. After we had taken over the brig they began to hold court on white guys who had shown racism and I got worried about the situation. Most of the black guys were friends of mine but you couldn't talk to them then. It looked as if it might turn out bad.

But it didn't work out that way.

Instead, after it was over there was a new and deeper sense of unity and comradeship among the guys, black and white.

There was also a new feeling of strength. We'd taken over the brig. Sure, they had overpowered us this time.

But who knows what might happen next time?

Gary won his discharge (UD) last month and is now a free man aiding the ASU.

Reprinted from THE BOND

GENERAL GETS $50,000 A YEAR; PRIVATE GETS $120 A MONTH; OVER 30,000 PRIVATES DEAD; BUT GENERALS ALWAYS DIE IN BED.

Star Spangled Sweatshops And the "Patriotism" Argument

If the union leaders say they're too "patriotic" to help organize the Army, the Navy and the Marines, then tell them that's why you are not getting the wages and conditions you ought to have. A lot of union leaders are too patriotic to the bosses and generals — while they are too unpatriotic to the workers who sweat and the soldiers who die.

A lot of them are pretty patriotic to the dollar. They wave the flag and sing "God Bless America" and say they will die for their country — but will they die for their union? Will they face long prison terms in the fight for your wages and conditions like the ASU men are now facing in the Armed Services?

A lot of union leaders tend to forget who is paying their wages — and why. They're supposed to fight for you and win better conditions.

When a worker goes into the Armed Forces, he has terrible conditions and terrible pay.

If the labor leaders refuse to do something about this, things will get worse in the civilian jobs, too.

Just as a single shop organized in a whole industry will lose its hard-won gains if the rest of the industry is left unorganized, so the labor movement as a whole cannot afford to neglect the Armed Services forever.

The GIs in the American Servicemen's Union are sticking their necks out for you as well as for themselves. We are fighting for ourselves, of course. But we are also fighting the fight of all labor. And we ask you again to come to our aid in every way you possibly can.



INTERNATIONAL NEWS

FAT'H SPEAKS TO AFRICA

In a message to Africa at the Pan African Cultural Festival in Algiers, FATAH said:

Some may inquire why are we here–what has FATAH to do with Africa that it participates in this Pan-African Cultural Festival.

On the map, there are two kinds of classifications; a geographical one and a political one in which the world is divided into only two major continents. All the forces of Revolution, Liberation and Justice stand against the forces of Colonialism, Racism and Imperialism. Africa on this map is a cause more than it is a continent. We, therefore, came here as being a part of Africa the cause, although we are not from Africa the continent.

We hoped our people could participate in this festival and demonstrate to our brothers in Africa some aspects of our culture and arts in Palestine. But our people, as all our African brothers know, are at the moment very busy fighting–fighting for life and liberty.

What happened in Palestine can easily be understood by the people of Africa. It is the same story in Africa and Palestine. It started by the immigration of white Europeans to Africa, where they settled, enslaved the people, established their own regime, evacuated the national owners of the land. Exercised all kinds of deprivation and exploitation.

Rhodes, Verwoerd and Ian Smith in Africa are the same as Herzl, Ben Gurion and Dayan in Palestine.

The same circumstances which created the white regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa created the State of Zionism in Palestine.

As Britain supports and protects the State of Smith in Rhodesia, the United States supports and protects the State of Dayan in Palestine. The close relations existing between Israel and South Africa reflect the real resemblance and interaction in the nature, past and future, of these two states.

We know that Israel has good relations and friendships in Africa. We also know the Israeli plan of infiltration there, camouflaging its real racist settlers' face under the pretention of being a state of freedom and peace, extending support and help to underdeveloped states.

But . . . Freedom for whom . . . ? And peace for whom . . . ?

If Smith works for peace in Rhodesia, Dayan works for peace in Palestine. The three wars of 1948, 1956 and 1967 are the best expression of the peace that Dayan works for. One more question; assistance and support: How could this be? A state of charities offers charities. Isn't it a big question? Or would the explanation be that Israel is the new face under which the neo-colonialism infiltrates once again to Africa.

Would the advice of Hubert Humphrey addressed to one of the under-developed countries to make use of experts from Israel give lights on the role that the Israeli assistance and experts are supposed to play in the under-developed countries?

Our story in Palestine is similar to that of yours in Africa. They came to our country, as they came to yours. We tried to live with them in one state, under the banner of law and peace, but they insisted on a pure racist regime, the same as that of the white minority in Africa. We were expelled as you were, and persecuted as you were persecuted. They claim that by this they solve the Jewish question. But really they create a problem for our people without solving theirs.



AL ASSIFA, THE MILITARY ARM OF FAT'H, IN THE ATTACK

Since the first minute we were willing to accept them to live with us in a democratic state where everybody can enjoy the same rights and live in peace and justice. But from the beginning they insisted on the pure state. The result was three extensive wars. In spite of these wars they still insist on the pure state without us, the owners of the land. Consequently, we have no choice other than to take up arms and fight to protect our rights of existence, freedom and justice. We intend to continue fighting until we achieve justice and peace in Palestine through the democratic state where the whole people of Palestine can live in peace.

This is not a political manoeuvre we perform but a cause we figure for. It is a call to all who want to live in peace on the land of Palestine to fight with us hand in hand for the purpose of this cause.

We therefore look to all the revolutionaries in Africa to stand with us, with the cause of freedom in Africa. As the cause of freedom is one and indivisible.

FATAH believes that the cause of freedom is one and the cause of Revolution is one all over the world. As we feel responsibility towards all revolutionaries, we decided to extend our obsolute unlimited and unreserved support to all those who carry arms fighting for the cause of liberty everywhere, specially in Africa which suffers in its struggle for human existence on the homeland.

FATAH does not confine itself to political support in the form of sympathy but intends to take a leading role in the revolutionary movement where Fatah as a militant pioneer in Palestine would intercede with all militant pioneers in Africa who intend to fight for liberty anywhere in the world that suffers from oppression, privation, racism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.

This is not political propaganda. It is a pledge that FATAH clings to with full understanding to its responsibility towards the map of world Revolution. ●

FROM "FREE PALESTINE"



THE GUERRILLAS ARE CALLED "FEDAYEEN" (THOSE WHO SACRIFICE) BY THE PALESTINE PEOPLE

NEWS BRIEFS

SOUTH KOREA

SEOUL (LNS) -- The South Korean students who have been vigorously protesting against the dictatorship of President Chung Hee Park are getting the General Hershey treatment.

Army call up papers have been issued to Anh Tai Hwan, a student leader at Kyungbook University in Taegu, as well as other student activists.

The students had been suspended from school for their widespread protests against Park's plans to extend his Presidency against the provisions of the Constitution.

PYONGYANG, Korea (LNS) -- South Korean insurgents derailed a military oil tanker train in the area of Walkwan, North Kyungsang Province, and set it afire recently. The rebels modeled their action on a previous derailing and fire engineered in the Yungchun area. According to a report by the Central Korea News Agency, more than 20 oil tanks were destroyed in the Walkwan action.

STOCKHOLM

STOCKHOLM -- Foreign Minister Torsten Nilsson announced Tuesday that Sweden plans to grant North Vietnam aid and loans of more than $40 million during a three year period. He dealt at length with the Vietnam war during the 24th Social Democratic party Congress and replied to US. critics of Sweden's policy in this regard. "The long suffering of the Vietnamese people has affected us deeply and I am convinced that the Government enjoys the solid support of the Swedish people in this decision," he said.

He advised against recognition of East Germany or Biafra, stated that the People's Republic of China should be given its rightful place in the UN and said Sweden would demand expulsion of Greece from the European Council because of violation of its charter.

VIETNAM

SAIGON (LNS) -- A South Vietnamese soldier shot to death two American officers in an army compound southwest of Saigon and then fatally shot himself, the US Command reported. The Americans were killed as they walked out of the headquarters compound of the Fourth Battalion of the 50th South Vietnamese Regiment near Tan An, about 29 miles southwest of Saigon.

They were identified as Lt. Col. Eugene F. Smallwood, 42, of Fairfax, Va., senior American advisor to the 50th Regiment, and Maj. Anthony J. Broullon, 32, of Jackson Heights, N.Y., senior advisor to the 4th Battalion.

The statement said the South Vietnamese enlisted man then shot at the South Vietnamese commander of the 4th Battalion before turning the gun on himself. The government officer was uninjured.



NLF PRISONERS ON DISPLAY (IN VIOLATION OF GENEVA CONVENTION) SIGN SAYS "HERE: A CRUEL COMMUNIST AGENT" ....LNS

TENSIONS BUILD IN KOREA

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

Pyongyang, North Korea

Premier Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea told a conference of journalists here last week that a war could break out any moment in Korea.

Kim was the opening speaker at a meeting of more than 200 journalists from 90 countries—with heavy representation from the third world—who met to discuss U.S. imperialism. Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, in exile from the U.S., was among the guests.

The journalists, including many who came from battlefields where they were covering national liberation wars, unanimously approved a declaration appealing for maximum intensification of the worldwide struggle against U.S. aggression. The delegates said that no matter what country was involved in the suppression of liberation struggles, the U.S. was the ringleader.

Although he foresaw another war in Korea as a possibility, the North Korean Premier said the world situation was favorable for a united struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism.

Elaborating on Kim's remarks, Foreign Minister Pak Sung Chul said "the [Korean] situation is strained to an extreme degree and the danger has arisen that war may break out again." To back his prediction Pak pointed to the massive military buildup in South Korea, including an expansion of airfield and port facilities and an intensification of "provocations" in the demilitarized zone and by espionage overflights.

" A VIET CONG TANK BLASTED TO PIECES "

ON June 20, 1969 at noon, from Hill 751 a tank rode hell for leather in the direction of the "Special Forces" camp at Plei Can (Ben Het). It rumbled to a stop at some 300 metres from the camp, and for a while its idling engine spat out a cloud of smoke.

As the soldiers in the camp had been living for months on end in fear of PLAF rocketings, from their trenches and loopholes, they poured shells and bullets of all calibers onto the suspicious vehicle and signalled in infantry and airplanes.

Then a "splendid co-ordinated action" took place between the various arms of the enemy. Bombs exploded, bullets whizzed, smoke and fire shrouded the tank until it was reduced to a heap of burning iron.

From the camp rose many shouts. "It served that Viet Cong tank well for daring to attack us in broad daylight." At that time, over the phone an angry voice was heard: "You fools! Why did you shoot at an Allied tank?"

It was in fact the only tank left from the US armoured column coming to rescue Ben Het. It had been set ablaze by the "deadly" fire of the very beleaguered troops it had come to help.

IT WAS A MISTAKE !

ON the same day, the puppet soldiers of Battalion 23 coming to ease the pressure on Ben Het sneaked away. They took the jungle path for fear of being spotted by other units or of a flankattack by the PLAF. Arriving at Road No. 18, they were full of joy, thinking that they were safe.

Suddenly, from Dak R'leng, a base located between Ben Het and Dakto, a rain of shells fell. Aghast, they cried: "The Viet Congs have overran Dak R'leng." The rumour spread to the whole unit like a wild fire, and triggered off a turmoil. They ran for dear life, ignoring the orders of their commanders for a muster. The unit coming to their rescue tried to check their stampede. A murderous clash took place. When both sides realized their mistake, already scores of puppet troops' corpses had littered the ground...

A Saigon Officer Rescues His Wife from US "Allies"

AS Ha was crossing the threshold of his house, his batman ran up to him, saying in great excitement:

"Sir, on her way to the Rach Gia * market your wife has just been kidnapped by Yanks!"

"What?" the officer shouted. He could not believe his ears.

The whole barracks of the company of puppet militia (Bao An) was soon all in a flurry. Ha was surrounded by soldiers and members of their families. A woman complained:

"For two months, a score of our sisters raped to death have been thrown into the Go Quao river. The Yanks dare now get at the wife of our lieutenant!"

Ha stood transfixed with sorrow. Pulling himself together, he quickly gathered a few reliable men. The group got into a motor launch which soon rumbled at full speed for the provincial capital, leaving behind it a foamy wake.

The officer was seething with impatience.

Ten minutes later, this batman spotted the kidnappers' boat which was nearing the port. The voice of a woman in distress was soon heard by the men from the motor launch which caught up with the US craft and slowed down alongside of it. Snatching a submachine gun from the hands of his orderly, Ha jumped onboard the other boat, followed by his men.

On the deck, four American soldiers wearing only shorts were dragging Mrs. Ha in torn clothes towards an iron bed. The poor woman was struggling desperately.

The GI's were stunned by the sudden appearance of the Saigon soldiers led by an officer with blood-shot eyes. In no time, Ha mowed down his wife's ravishers to the great joy of his men.

(According to Giai Phong *Press Agency)*

* *In the Chuong Thien provincial capital, 185 km southwest of Saigon.*

VIET NAM COURIER

GI'S SWITCH SIDES IN VIETNAM

SAN FRANCISCO -- American GIs are joining the military forces of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG). Recent figures quoted in the San Francisco Chronicle show desertions in the field are running at the rate of ten a day.

Those desertions who would rather switch and fight join up with PRG, bringing with them detailed knowledge of how to work American equipment and how American units operate. There have been reports of misdirected artillery and helicopter fire in the Mekong Delta because deserters used stolen radios to cut in on Army frequencies.

The PGR derives the greatest benefit from the intelligence reports these GIs receive, according to Solidarity, a San Francisco newsletter run by ex-GIs. As long as two years ago the US-Saigon command was astounded that the National Liberation Front would know of B-52 strikes more than 24 hours in advance. It confused them because stike times were never divulged to the Saigon troops. The NLF also found out about attacks flown from Okinawa, Thailand and Guam.

The majority of the deserters choose to stay in the rear areas so that they will not have to fight their countrymen. But two ex-Marine NLF advisors were killed last April in a patrol skirmish near Phu Bai. Located north-east of Khe Sanh, Phu Bai is the largest US Marine base near the DMZ; it is an extremely important communications base. The Marine Corps was able to identify the two "traitors" but would not release their names.

Some GIs who desert in the field do not want to join the liberation forces, and merely roam the countryside trying not to get caught. The PRG often helps such persons find housing and food, expecting nothing in return.

According to a June report in the Okinawa Morning Star Journal, there are at least 3,000 AWOL GIs hiding out in Saigon alone. Many recently returned Vietnamese veterans have reported a higher estimate to Solidarity editor Fred Chard--they figure 5,000 to be a more realistic number.

For deserters wishing to leave Vietnam, the PRG offers assistance in reaching countries which do not recognize the tradition of US service deserters, including Sweden, Japan, Cambodia and Thailand. An estimated 300-500 deserters have received such assistance from the PRG to date.

KOREA REMEMBERED

Reprinted from "Wor'd" Magazine

By RUTH NORRICK

Truth crushed to earth, so the poet tells us, will rise again. So believing, one should not despair that some day the truth will out about what really happened along the 38th parallel in Korea that Sunday nineteen years ago on June 25, 1950. The start of the Korean war.

While one waits for the truth to become known, it might be well to recall what might have happened, how very different the world might have been, how much of the waste and destruction of the years since might have been avoided, and how there might not have been a Vietnam war had there not been, first, a Korea.

What was almost certainly about to occur was a recommendation to the General Assembly by the Security Council for the seating of the People's Republic of China. The up-coming vote in the Security Council could be counted: in **favor**, Egypt (then under French influence), France, India, Norway, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia. Voting **against** would have been only the United States, Cuba, Ecuador and Nationalist China.

Something equally momentous was about to happen, and it was an equally displeasing eventuality as far as United States policy was concerned. Korea, which had been arbitrarily divided at the 38th parallel at the end of World War II, was about to become a united country again.

In the south — "our part" — Syngman Rhee and his party had just suffered an ignominious defeat in United Nations-observed national elections. That defeat had opened the way for reunification through a meeting of the newly-elected National Assembly of Korea (South) and the People's Supreme Assembly (North) as a single legislative assembly for all Korea. Seoul, the capital of South Korea, was being suggested as the meeting place. The date proposed was August 15, the fifth anniversary of Korea's liberation from Japanese rule.

From a Korean point of view, re-unification was greatly to be desired, for the people were one nation. As far as the United States was concerned, it was another matter. In Cold War compilation, re-unification would have been a "communist" victory.

John Foster Dulles, no less, was dispatched to Korea to confer with the defeated Rhee: he had his picture taken with him, in the trenches along the line of the 38th parallel, on June 18, 1950. Dulles is shown scowling toward the north. After he returned to Seoul from his inspection tour of Rhee's army in its positions in the "northern border zone," Dulles promised Rhee and the South Koreans that "North Korea" would soon lose its grip on the country.



RIGHT AFTER DULLES' TRIP TO KOREA--WAR BREAKS OUT



U.S. TROOPS IN KOREA. IN THE THREE YEAR WAR -- 33,629 G.I.'S KILLED



NORTH KOREANS AND CHINESE CELEBRATE IN THE DEMILITARIZED ZONE THE DECLARATION OF ARMISTICE

At the same time, Secretary of Defense Louis A. Johnson, and General Omar Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, had been flown to Tokyo "to get General MacArthur's views on America's position in Communist-troubled Asia." (AP dispatch from Tokyo, June 19). The same source reported that MacArthur was expected to urge rushing United States arms to Southeast Asia. The French were having trouble there.

Overnight, literally overnight, that bright prospect for reunification of Korea and for a new start for the United Nations, came to an end.

The world was asked to believe that the North Koreans, without provocation, had launched an attack on the south. The United Nations, at United States' insistence, was drawn reluctantly into the "police action" that was to become a bloody and ruinous and endless war.

What actually had happened is part of the hidden history of that war, to use the title of I.F. Stone's book. That the United Nations acted, though, without any evidence of its own, is a forgotten truth. All the Security Council had was a report from its own commission in Korea, from Seoul. It reported no investigation of its own about the start of hostilities, for it had made none. It began its report with the words "Government of Korea states," and went on to give, without in any way confirming it, Rhee's version of what had happened.

That the Council's action, taken on the basis of that report, was a manifest violation of the United Nations Charter, was a matter to be overlooked. The Soviet Union, whose concurrence was required, was absent: it had "taken a walk" that January in protest against the denial of the Chinese seat to the People's Republic. Many observers, including Stone, think that the Soviet Union was taken unawares. Had the Soviet Union's delegate been there, its veto would undoubtedly have been exercised.

Forgotten, too, are the comings and goings of those high government officials to confer with General MacArthur, and the presence in Seoul of John Foster Dulles.

Forgotten are other actions taken that weekend. The Seventh Fleet was ordered into the Straits of Formosa to protect the island refuge of Chiang Kai-chek from attack by the triumphant "Red Chinese." Aid was increased to the government of the Philippines, then engaged in suppressing forces there fighting for true independence for their country. And, most fateful of all, American military aid in greatly increased measure was given the French in their doomed struggle to regain and hold onto Indo-China — Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

As in some great morality play events roll on, but not as planned. Defeat followed defeat, and shame followed shame, for the nation that directed the proceedings in the Security Council nineteen years ago. So many of its young men dead, from the Yalu to the Mekong delta. Boys dying on Hamburger Hill who were not yet born when the decision that led to their death was made.

Does the truth about how it all started really matter in the face of such a calamitous ending?

Only as knowing the truth might make possible, even at this late date, a freeing of the American people from the man-concocted myths they live by, in the service of the Cold Warriors.

October 1966

Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want What We Believe



FREE HUEY

Minister of Defense, Black Panther Party

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. We want full employment for our people.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black Community.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. We want all black men to be exempt from military service.

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self-defense.

8. We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. **That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.** Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. **But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.**

THE BLACK PANTHER

BLACK COMMUNITY NEWS SERVICE
PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER

Political Prisoner:
Minister of Defense
HUEY NEWTON

Chairman
BOBBY SEALE

Editor
Minister of Information
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Managing Editor
Deputy Minister of Information
BIG MAN

Revolutionary Artist and Lay-out
Minister of Culture
EMORY DOUGLAS

Production Manager
JOHN SEALE

Co-Editors

Distribution Manager
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Circulation
SAM NAPIER

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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The editorial and production cost of THE BLACK PANTHER Newspaper have increased considerably. We would like to continue increasing weekly circulation and our national and international news coverage. To do this we need your aid. Please send us news items, general information, and contributions. Help us distribute and get new subscriptions to The Black Panther newspaper. Submit to:

BLACK PANTHER NEWSPAPER
3106 SHATTUCK AVE.
BERKELEY, CALIF.



RULES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA..

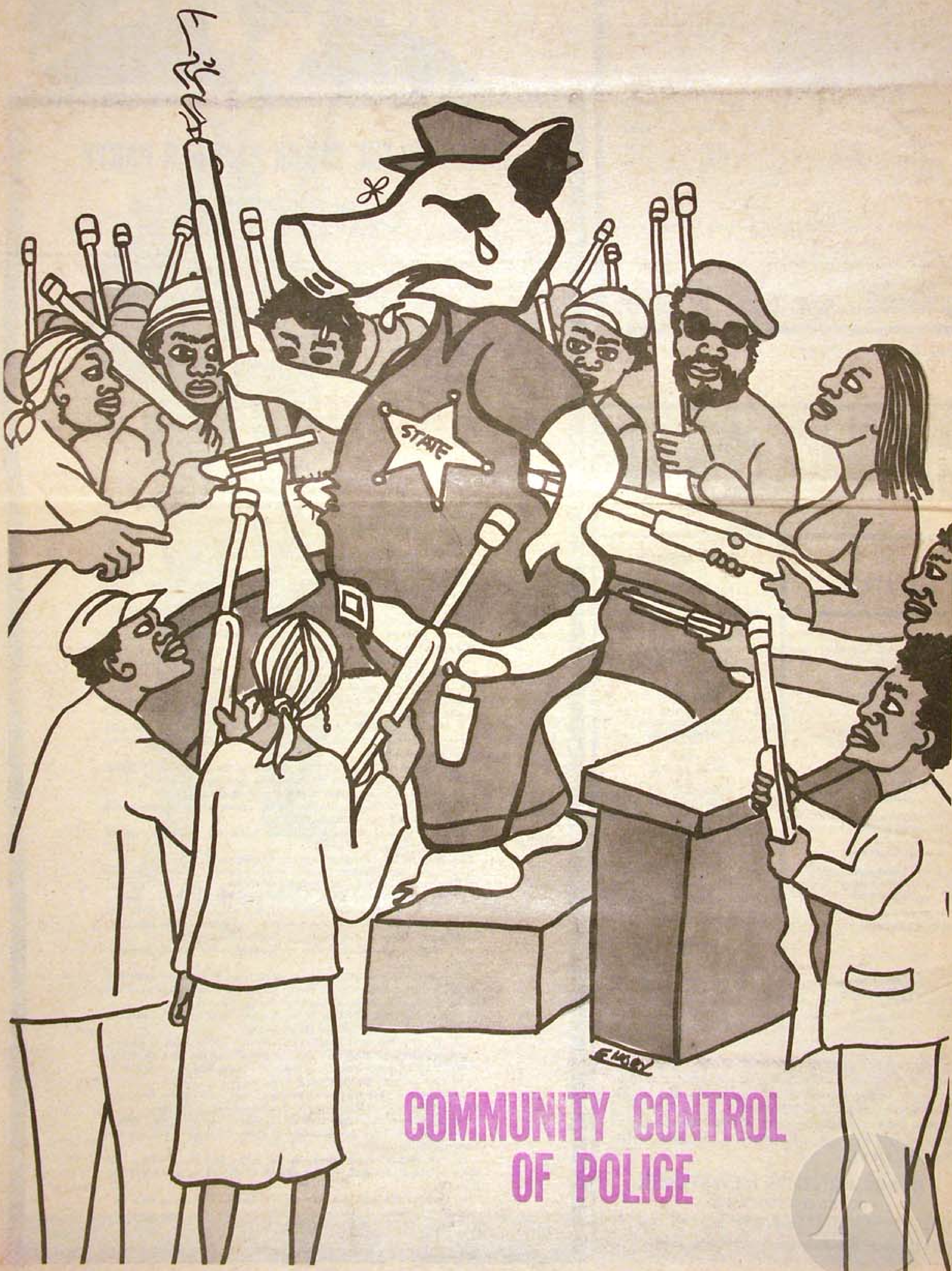
Every member of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. CENTRAL COMMITTEE members, CENTRAL STAFFS, and LOCAL STAFFS, including all captains subordinate to either national, state, and local leadership of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY WERE VIOLATED.

Every member of the party must know these verbatum by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

THE RULES ARE:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.
2. Any party member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.
3. No party member can be DRUNK while doing daily party work.
4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY, and meetings of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY ANYWHERE.
5. No party member will USE, POINT, or FIRE a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.
6. No party member can join any other army force other than the BLACK LIBERATION ARMY.
7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while DRUNK or loaded off narcotics or weed.
8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or BLACK people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.
9. When arrested BLACK PANTHER MEMBERS will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.
10. The Ten Point Program and platform of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must be known and understood by each Party member.
11. Party Communications must be National and Local.
12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.
13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.
14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.
15. Each Sub-Section Leader Section Leader, Lieutenant, and Captain must submit Daily reports of work.
16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.
17. All Leadership personnel who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.
18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.
19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captains, Section Leaders, etc.
20. COMMUNICATIONS — all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.
21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.
22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.
23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.
24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.
25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY.
26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE